

MOVEMENT – 1975 – FORWARD (1975)

Correspondence, Journals & Documents – Socialist League / Forward Group

**Archival Items – 'On File' –copies available at National Archives, Ottawa*

1975

1975-00-1	(York U.) United Left Slate brochure Action Programme
1975-00-2	News broadsheet: Vote ULS: Stop the cutbacks
1975-00-3	Flyer: ULS victory challenged
1975-00-4	Flyer: Ritch wins; Ad Hoc Cttee for fair elections
1975-00-5	Forward Forum: Where is student movement going?
1975-01Jan1	SL New Year's Eve party and Sleigh Ride, punch & soup
1975-01Jan17	Class Series: Marxist view on life & culture (Lord book)
1975-01Jan24	Forward Forum: Citizens vs. The law; guest speakers
1975-02Feb-fwd-6	NDP firm stand on women-Oil profiteers get out now!
*1975-Feb-fwd-6	Canadian governments capitulating before Syncrude
*1975-Feb-fwd-6	Trudeau tough with Time (US mags) – a bit, maybe
1975-02Feb-fwd-6	NDP governments face Ottawa and big business assault
1975-02Feb-fwd-6	Cross-Country with the NDP – Sask. power strike
1975-02Feb-fwd-6	The challenge for women – International Women's Year
1975-02Feb-fwd-6	Talking it over – New union shop, by Pat Schulz
1975-02Feb-fwd-6	Jews challenge Zionism – New Committee formed
*1975-Feb-fwd-6	(Edit) (Canadian) Workers protest US ban on Cuba trade
*1975-Feb-fwd-6	Brock U. sparks cut-backs struggle -4000 Montreal march (file)

*1975-Feb-fwd-6	Canadian complicity, as usual, in Vietnam war crimes
*1975-Feb-fwd-6	The general recession of international capitalism (Mandel-file)
*1975-Feb-fwd-6	Profits and prophets of famine. By Harry Kopyto (file)
1975-02Feb-fwd-6	Law Union activists speak at Forward Forum –SL classes
1975-03Mar00a	Free all (the Ukrainian) Women political prisoners
1975-03Mar00c	IWY Brochure: Freedom for all women political prisoners!
1975-03Mar01a	York University in crisis, by Dale Ritch
1975-03Mar7	Dale Ritch (ULS) disqualified! Hear Ritch & Koorstra
1975-03Mar12	Photos: Election fever hits York, ULS signmakers at work
1975-03Mar19	U. of T. <i>Varsity</i> article: “Election controversy at York”
1975-03Mar24a	Vote Dale Ritch United Left Slate – Protest unfair elections
1975-03Mar24b	Poster: Ritch for President ULS – Vote again!
1975-03Mar28	How Students can change society: Dale Ritch for president
1975-03Mar98	Photo: Ritch and supporters after presidential victory
1975-03Mar99a	<i>Forward</i> article: “Student actions...”; York left slate victory
1975-03Mar-fwd-7	May 10 – for national women's rights action
*1975-Mar-fwd-7	Oil buccaneers plunder pblic funds
1975-03Mar-fwd-7	John Damien fights gov't anti-gay discrimination
1975-04Apr-fwd-7	CIA-RCMP spy collusion ('banana syndrome?')
*1975-Mar-fwd-7	Cross country with the NDP
*1975-Mar-fwd-7	BC women debate – Business attacks NDP
*1975-Mar-fwd-7	From matriarchy to the patriarchy (book review) (on file)
*1975-Mar-fwd-7	Alberta & Manitoba conventions

*1975-Mar-fwd-7	(Edit) Unholy alliance rules out worker's health
*1975-Mar-fwd-7	Last tango in Europe – Can-US free trade (R.Dowson)
*1975-Mar-fwd-7	Portugal at turning point – Socialists field ticket (on file)
*1975-Mar-fwd-7	SL debates human alienation – SL Marxist classes
1975-03Mar-fwd-7	York (Student Union) left slate victory –Annual fund drive
1975-03Mar-fwd-7	(Obituary) HUGH DOWSON 1922-1973
1975-03Mar-fwd-7	Worker-militant and socialist (R.D.)
*1975-Mar-fwd-7	(Ontario) Student actions take on cutbacks (on file)
1975-04Apr12a	Undated flyer: Pour um governo dos trabalhadores
1975-04Apr12b	(continued) L.C.I., signed Forward (in Portuguese)
1975-04Apr14	<i>Forward</i> house party with editor Roberts speaking
1975-04Apr-fwd-8	Amnesty for Morgentaler – May 10 protest grows
1975-04Apr-fwd-8	How Morgentaler was imprisoned – Tolentino interview
*1975-Apr-fwd-8	US Puppets routed in Indochina
*1975-Apr-fwd-8	The debate widens on Canada –Ross Dowson
1975-04Apr-fwd-8	Debate widens on nature of Canada
*1975-Apr-fwd-8	Mounting attack on (Canadian) nationalism (by elites)
1975-04Apr-fwd-8	Ottawa admits RCMP errand boy to FBI & CIA
1975-04Apr-fwd-8	Left sweeps York (U.) elections
*1975-Apr-fwd-8	Student leaders speak out at Forward Forum
*1975-Apr-fwd-8	Students and faculty unite to fight gov't cutbacks (on file)
*1975-Apr-fwd-8	Fund drive on the way to top \$5,000
1975-04Apr-fwd-8	Cross-country with the NDP – Cuba impresses Lewis

1975-05May0a	The Politics of Educational Cutbacks by Ritch & Weisfeld
1975-05May0d-1	Cutbacks & Election Strategy, by Ritch and Weisfeld
1975-05May1	Ritch: (York Student)Council, Notice of Annual Meeting
1975-05May21	Forward Forums: Quebec, CLC convention, Italy
1975-06June18	Forward Forum on Northern Ireland
1975-06Jun-fwd-9	End the vendetta now! Morgentaler Amnesty!
*1975-Jun-fwd-9	Quebec teachers issue May Day school lessons (on file)
*1975-Jun-fwd-9	Common Market no option to Britain's economic crisis (on file)
1975-06Jun-fwd-9	U.S. tycoons take over Canadian bankroll, by R.D.
1975-06Jun-fwd-9	Where we're at in IWY (Kirzner)
*1975-Jun-fwd-9	VIETNAM'S GIANT STEP (US forces routed)
*1975-Jun-fwd-9	Ottawa aids US military front in South East Asia
1975-06Jun-fwd-9	Open arms for Vietnam refuse (opium pusher generals)
1975-06Jun-fwd-9	Cross-country with the NDP—Need Syncrude campaign
*1975-Jun-fwd-9	An immigration policy for labor (by G. Doctorow—on file)
1975-08Aug6	Forward Forum: on NDP, Russia, National question
1975-08Aug-fwd-10	Rally for NDP left policy—Amnesty for Morgentaler
*1975-Aug-fwd-10	Edit – Deathtrap set for us (US subs for BC?)
*1975-Aug-fwd-10	Branch plant, gov't policy make Canada a tech colony
1975-08Aug-fwd-10	Cross-country with the NDP – Lewis hysteria over PLO
1975-08Aug-fwd-10	Saskatchewan Waffle's left advance marred
1975-08Aug-fwd-10	Cutbacks struggle tests emerging student leaders
*1975-Aug-fwd-10	Portugal's way ahead (socialists' struggle detailed) (on file)

*1975-Aug-fwd-10 Dowson-- Towards the study of Canadian art

1975-09Sept00a Forward Pub. pamphlet: "Two Manifestoes"

1975-09Sept12 Letter to members re new meeting night and forums

1975-09Sept13 Letter to members re *Forward* sub drive during elections

1975-09Sept16 United Left Slate (York) conference call

1975-09Sept19 Forward Forum: Post-election roundup, guest speakers

1975-09Sept-fwd-11 Ontario NDP poses the labor alternative (election)

*1975-Sept-fwd-11 Nuclear power menace to humanity (on file)

1975-09Sept-fwd-11 Student leaders call for NDP election support

1975-09Sept-fwd-11 Cross-country with the NDP – Call for Left Caucus,

*1975-Sept-fwd-11 Ontario NDP poses labor alternative on housing (on file)

*1975-Sept-fwd-11 Women unionists launch new movement for rights

*1975-Sept-fwd-11 Prisoners form union – Sit-ins rock jails

*1975-Sept-fwd-11 Editorial- Hands off Portugal (NATO threats)

*1975-Sept-fwd-11 New deal in Mideast betrayal of Palestinian cause (on file)

1975-09Sept-fwd-11 Toronto rally protests Ottawa exclusion of PLO

1975-09Sept-fwd-11 Pro-repeal forces gaining momentum

*1975-Sept-fwd-11 Pioneer struggles to build workers' party in Canada

*1975-Sept-fwd-11 Ernest Mandel (FI leader)– The challenge in Portugal (on file)

1975-10Oct18 Special Event: "On behalf of Henry Morgentaler"

1975-10Oct26 Social notice: theatre party

1975-10Oct-fwd-12 Morgentaler must be freed

1975-10Oct-fwd-12 Portugal moves to the brink – workers councils

*1975-Oct-fwd-12 Outrage as Franco goes on with brutal terror (Spain) (file)

1975-10Oct-fwd-12 Cross-country with the NDP – NDP gov'ts under attack

1975-10Oct-fwd-12 Edit- Task for socialists (Left sectarians & the NDP)

1975-10Oct-fwd-12 Bill 22 fight ends in setback for French language

*1975-Oct-fwd-12 US is calling shots on Canadian military (Dowson)

1975-10Oct-fwd-12 Rosemary Brown on feminism & socialism

*1975-Oct-fwd-12 (Sectarians paralyze) Unionized women's conference (file)

1975-10Oct-fwd-12 A labor policy on immigration (NDP debate) G.Doctorow

*1975-Oct-fwd-12 Full rights for immigrants – Stop Douglas deportation (file)

*1975-Oct-fwd-12 British Labour Party left rebukes Wilson leadership

1975-11Nov12 Woman's movement class series: historical, Current wave

1975-11Nov23 Forward Group – Organizers Report by G. Deutsch

1975-11Nov-fwd-13 For a congress of all labor – Program for labor

*1975-Nov-fwd-13 Program for labor (to fight wage freeze)

1975-11Nov-fwd-13 The real situation behind BC (NDP) Bill 146

1975-11Nov-fwd-13 Rise of soldiers councils inspiration for Portugal

1975-11Nov-fwd-13 Canadian sovereignty awash in wake of Manhattan

1975-11Nov-fwd-13 Cartoon - Myth & reality of class in Canada

1975-11Nov-fwd-13 Myth & reality of class in Canada (RD) (text file)

*1975-Nov-fwd-13 Oh Canada–real role of FIRA (Foreign investment)

1975-11Nov-fwd-13 The national airwave game – 'Canadian content'

1975-11Nov-fwd-13 Mao steers ruinous world course

1975-11Nov-fwd-13 (Edit) Is Zionism racist? Photo-Morgentaler fundraiser

*1975-Nov-fwd-13 The October crisis fraud – confirmed 5 years after

1975-11Nov-fwd-13 The October Crisis fraud (RD) (text file)

*1975-Nov-fwd-13 Women at work-Ontario 1850-1930—Book Review (on file)

*1975-Nov-fwd-13 Atom power plans costly and perilous (on file)

1975-12Dec3 Forward Forum: Class series on Quebec (Wayne Roberts)

1975-12Dec17 Forward Forum: Class series on China (Abie Weisfeld)

1975-12Dec98a RD handwritten notes: “Labor's Manifesto”

*1975-12Dec Further handwritten notes (see Trade Union fraction)

1975-12Dec99 SL New Years Eve flyer: quote from Proudhon

1975-12Dec-fwd-14 Saskatchewan potash take-over – Morgentaler in jail

*1975-Dec-fwd-14 'Doctrinaire' move? (Lewis critic NDP takeover)

*1975-Dec-fwd-14 For mass rally of Canadian labor to beat controls

1975-12Dec-fwd-14 Campaign opens for public owned energy

1975-12Dec-fwd-14 Bosses cheer as BC NDP is ousted (election defeat)

1975-12Dec-fwd-14 'Constitutional' coup d'etat—Aussi labor party ousted

*1975-Dec-fwd-14 Oh Canada--Canada's banks infiltrated by US business

1975-12Dec-fwd-14 Where are women at now? (Balance sheet end of IWY)

1975-12Dec-fwd-14 Where are women at now? Balance sheet of IWY

1975-12Dec-fwd-14 Student movement poses cutback fight

1975-12Dec-fwd-14 Toronto Socialist League holds annual conference

*1975-Dec-fwd-14 Portuguese right provokes—Left suffers setback (on file)

VOTE

UNITED LEFT SLATE

PRESIDENT DALE RITCH

COLLEGE REPRESENTATIVES

**FOUNDERS: COLAN INGLIS
RON ROSENTHAL**

VANIER : TED KAPUSTA

**WINTERS: BARRY THOMSON
GREG THOMSON**

MCLAUGHLIN: DANNY DE FELICI

**STONG : MAXINE HARRIS
PETER JAILALL**

Action Programme of the United Left Slate

Introducing the ULS

The United Left Slate (ULS) is a coalition of independent students who are prepared to form an activist student leadership in CYSF. We propose a programme of radical change for the university which would transform the campus into an institution serving the needs of its student and working members.

Members of the ULS are active in campus politics both in conjunction with the activities of CYSF and outside of the council. The ULS first contested the CYSF elections two years ago when our Presidential candidate lost by 39 votes. Last spring the margin was even closer, only 20 votes. At present we have five members on the council. ULS members were instrumental in organizing last year's fee strike and ensuing occupation which successfully forced the administration to release OSAP grant cheques before tuition fees were paid. This year we are helping to organize a cash boycott of university food services to protest the poor quality and exorbitant prices of food on campus.

Things Aren't What They Used to Be

In the past few years we have witnessed a sharp reversal in the government attitude towards education. The heady days of rapid expansion are over before the dream is completed. For that reason student representatives are obliged to lead a struggle simply to preserve existing conditions, inadequate as they are. We are forced to run merely to stand still.

The deteriorating working and living conditions on the campus is a reflection of the growing crises facing the university and Canadian society.

The inflation which high unemployment has been unable to stop is not limited to Canada. The United States, the most powerful imperialist state in the world, is also faced with the world wide phenomena of monetary crises, inflation, rising unemployment and economic recession. Canada, a dependent country, dominated by Nixon and the U.S. multi-nationals, will be increasingly used to rescue the U.S. from its economic plight.

THE WAY WE SEE IT...

The Cutbacks in Education

The government, both provincial and federal, is adamant in its desire to cut back on educational expenditures. The COPSEO report (provincial blueprint for education until 1990) recommends that the percentage of gross national product spent on education decline from 6.1% in 1970 to 4.6% in 1980 (a decrease of 25%). The COPSEO and Peitchinis reports (latter being the federal report on post-secondary education) recommend that students should pay at least 50% of operating expenses in the future, rather than the 13% of 1971.

The rapid expansion of the post-secondary system in the 60's raised the possibility that all Canadians might eventually have access to a university education. These hopes have been dashed by the education policy of the Davis government which insists on rationalizing the educational system to meet the needs of the corporations. The economic crises facing Canada and other Western countries has resulted in a decreased demand for highly skilled technicians, teachers, and white collar workers. In Canada, this process is particularly acute because most of the research, planning and development used in industry is carried out in the U.S. At the same time that educational expenditures are being slashed, corporate taxes are being reduced (as of Jan. 74 federal income tax on profits of manufacturing enterprises decreased from 49% to 40%) and corporate profits are skyrocketing. Meanwhile personal income taxes are increasing (40% increase in provincial sales tax) and real wages of working people have declined in the past year due to inflation.

Not only is new construction impossible, because of the freeze on capital expenditure, but even the maintenance of existing buildings is declining with a shrinking staff. Last spring 34 cleaners were permanently laid off. The administration has used the staff as a scape-goat to reduce budget deficits and has also subcontracted cleaning at Glendon to a non-union company paying scab wages. This directly affects students as well as the cleaners. Why have wall to wall carpeting if it can't be repaired or cleaned properly?

Over one million dollars is being cut from York's 74/75 budget so that the university can operate within the restrictions imposed by the government's meager 5% increase in this year's B.I.U. level. These budget cuts will mean reductions in teaching positions, larger class sizes and deteriorations in the quality of education. The library budget is to be reduced by a further \$250,000. Efforts to save money in the library will result in lay-offs of needed staff. This anti-student measure will decrease the number of new acquisitions, increase delays in using the library and possibly cut down on operating hours.

York has made tutorials an important learning tool. With the non-renewal of the contracts of many untenured faculty, this progressive concept will be increasingly eroded.

In order to reduce the growing budget deficits, the administration has increased residence, food and book costs

substantially this year. Midway through the second term, prices at university cafeterias went up 10% and the 5% cash discount at the bookstore was discontinued. Most students live on a fixed income and cannot afford these increases. Residence students have thousands of dollars in unused scrip which the administration refused to refund. The bus service between Keele campus and Glendon is no longer free this year. These increased costs are further attempts to make students shoulder the costs of education directly. Instead of fighting the cutbacks, the administration passes them on to students.

The ULS wholeheartedly endorses the cash boycott as an example of the type of activity that should be organized by CYSF to fight for student's interests.

A Programme to Fight the Cutbacks

No Faculty reductions or Staff layoffs

Increased Government Subsidies to Cover Budget Deficits

Fair wage increases for Faculty and Staff

No Library Budget Cuts — Extend Library service

Increases in OSAP and Graduate Student Fellowships to meet rises in the cost of living

No more fee hikes

Rescind the food and book increases — Subsidized food and books

Refund scrip at full value

Tax the Corporations to pay for Education.

It is essential that CYSF organize a continuing campaign based on the preceding demands. It will be necessary to stop the cutbacks once and for all if the goal of free and equal accessibility is to be realized. The cutbacks can be defeated but only if students from all across the province are united in a common struggle and if we are able to mobilize the support of sympathetic organizations such as the Ontario Teacher's Federation and the Ontario Federation of Labour.

Tuition Fee Hike

In the fall of 1972, tuition fees were raised \$100 and the OSAP loan ceiling went from \$600 to \$800. These increases make it more difficult for the children of working people to attend University because the costs must increasingly be borne directly by the family or by the individual. The age of independence was set at 24 thus reinforcing the student's dependence on the family. The Minister is on record as favoring still higher fees.

Free and Universal Access of Education

We demand that the right for free and universal access to education be provided for anyone who wishes to attend a post-secondary institution. Our eventual goal is free tuition and a guaranteed living allowance for all post-secondary students. Only when education is free will it truly be universal.

Who Should Pay for Education?

We see the financial responsibility for such a programme resting on the corporations who stand to benefit most from

the education system, rather than the individual property-holder. For example, if the Canadian energy sector was placed under public ownership, the windfall profits which now accrue to the Americal oil corporations could be used to expand education and other social services.

Structure of the University

The university is not an independent, ivory tower of learning and wisdom. It is an institution which plays a definite role in our society and reflects all the injustices and inequalities of that society. A brief look at the actual functioning of the university is instructive. Power is highly centralized and is vested for the most part through the Board of Governors and the President and the President's Advisory Council. The board's membership consists in it's majority of directors of the largest private companies. Through it's jurisdiction over all financial matters and the hiring and firing of higher administrative personnel, the board exercises effective control over the controlling operations of the university.

The Faculty has a fair amount of influence in university affairs through it's majority representation on the Senate. The senate committees regulate most academic activities including hiring and firing, tenure, course content, examination criteria etc. However, the Senate must operate within a budgetary framework established in advance by the Board and under an administration chosen by the Board. Therefore, in practise, the power of the Senate is limited. Furthermore, the senate has gone along with repressive anti-student legislation in the past. Last spring, after the fee strike, the Senate passed a motion which reimposed academic sanctions, including de-registration,



for non-payment of fees or other debts. The Senate has even refused to fight for the jobs of their own non-tenured faculty members which are being slashed because of the budget cuts. The prime reason for the Senate's conservatism lies in the fact that the majority of Senate members do not teach any more but function primarily as administrators. Students have only a token representation of fifteen members on the Senate (out of a hundred and fifty) and one on the Board (out of approximately 25).

The charge that students are unable to make important decisions loses it's effect when we remember the debacle of

three York Presidents in one week. Surely true democracy couldn't be any more incompetent!

For a Restructured University

It is quite clear that students cannot depend on the Board or administration or even faculty to provide them with the quality of education and life necessary. The university proves to be an alienating environment for many students primarily because students lack the power to make effective decisions on issues concerning their lives on campus.

We support the concept that the university should be controlled by those who work and study there, and not by business interests or by a self-perpetuating bureaucracy. In order to insure that all decisions are to be made democratically, it will be necessary to restructure the university so that power rests in the hands of students, faculty and staff. All important decisions affecting the university as a whole, including finances, and administrative personnel should be decided by the three component parts of the York community.

The following demands outline a programme for a radical restructuring of the university.

Big Business Off Campus — Abolish the Board of Governors

Student-Faculty-Staff Control of Finances, Hiring and Firing, Tenure, etc.

For Equal Hiring Practises

York proclaims itself a liberal university dedicated to academic progress and equality. This admirable sentiment must be incorporated into York's hiring practises, to act as a model for all institutions.

Women are grossly underrepresented at the student level in many faculties and at the faculty level in all departments. We demand that qualified women be given preferential hiring until proportional representation occurs at all levels of the administration and the faculty.

The physical structures here were designed to accomodate wheelchairs. Yet, very few employees at any level are handicapped. We believe that a person who is physically handicapped but equally qualified for a position should be given preference until they represent five percent of the staff and faculty.

We support the cause of gay men and women who are organizing to challenge the discrimination that they face. The York administration must comply with the motion recently passed by the Toronto City Council which outlaws any discrimination in hiring practise on the basis of sexual orientation.

For an Adequate Day-Care Center

Last year, the administration promised to donate \$300,000 to build a decent day-care center on campus. Day-care facilities at the present time are cramped, limited in size and located in unsuitable quarters, the Atkinson students' residence. The

university has reneged on its promise because of its budget difficulties. However there is a possible solution. A wealthy businessman who has recently died, donated several hundred thousand dollars to build a chapel. It is quite within the realm of possibility to build a multi-purpose 'chapel' which could also serve as a day-care center. In this manner women with children would have a much better opportunity to work and study on the campus.

CYSF and its Role as a Student Organization

We see CYSF as an organization which represents students in affairs both on and off the campus. Students have needs and interests which do not correspond to the aims of the administration or the government. It is becoming more and more obvious that students need a strong, campus-wide political organization. However, by itself CYSF is a weak instrument. It is only strong when used as an organizing tool to get students together and provide a leadership for their own actions.

We would encourage all York students (particularly from Bethune College) to join CYSF and make it a true campus-wide organization. The provincial and national student organizations (OFS and NUS) respectively, deserve further support in organizing students on a broader, more powerful basis.

CYSF at present does not exist as a legal entity but only through the grace of the administration. CYSF must be granted legal status and a guaranteed source of income if it is to function effectively.

Excalibur and other campus-wide services must have an adequate budget and freedom from manipulation by CYSF. The administration has a responsibility to fund basic and essential services like Harbinger and day-care. However, CYSF has an important role to play in these areas by bringing political pressure to bear on the administration and forcing it to fulfill its responsibilities.

A Few Badly Needed Reforms

The Presidential salary should be reduced to the old level of \$4,000.

CYSF must be democratized through more emphasis on mass meetings, referenda and opinion polls.

Meetings must be held on at least a bi-weekly basis; in a

*location and at a time when most students can attend.
Closed committees and meetings must be abolished;
CYSF has no secrets so why have in-camera meetings?
Key executive positions should be elected posts and not appointments by CYSF as is the case now.*

The council should be an organization which represents and organizes students as a whole, and not an assembly of college politicians who come together to divide up the spoils amongst the various college councils. For this reason, the budget council should be scrapped, thus ending the control that the college councils have over the CYSF budget and constitution.

A committee should be established to study the structure of student government on the campus, and suggest how to improve relationships between CYSF, the college councils and the administration.

Beyond the Sandbox

Quite often we are told that CYSF should be involved only in on-campus issues. Students, it is said, are not interested in what is happening in the external world. We reject these arguments. The university is actually a microcosm of the society at large. Students are affected by the day-to-day events off campus as much as anyone. Secondly, because students have the education and the time to involve themselves in important issues off campus. Students, in fact, have a responsibility to give whatever assistance they can to the struggles of oppressed and exploited people everywhere. We have the resources and skills to play an important role in key issues as diverse as the grape and lettuce boycott on behalf of the United Farm Workers and the Kraft boycott which is being organized by The Canadian National Farmer's Union.

Students and faculty have already been instrumental in forcing the Canadian government to grant refuge to the victims of the Chilean generals. Now its up to us to see that Chileans who wish to study and work on the campus are given the opportunity to do so.

Another good example of the role that students can play was demonstrated by the endorsement given by CYSF to the strike by workers of the Artistic Woodworking Company. CYSF also donated \$300 to assist in paying fines and legal expenses for the students who were arrested and subsequently victimized.

STOP THE CUTBACKS STUDENT-FACULTY-STAFF CONTROL

**UNITED LEFT
SLATE**

VOTE

***Stop The Cutbacks
Student-Staff-Faculty Control
Fight For Women's Rights
Education A Right
Not A Privilege
End Racist Immigration Laws
Activist Student Leadership
No More Tuition Hikes***

CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS: 124 CENTRAL SQUARE 667-3532
JOIN THE CAMPAIGN!

University in Crisis... the ULS

THE END OF AN ERA

In the past few years we have witnessed a sharp reversal in the government's attitude towards education. The heady days of rapid expansion have ended before the dream is anywhere near completed. The lofty ideal of a post-secondary education available to anyone regardless of wealth or status has been submerged under a crushing weight of tuition and loan ceiling increases, a building freeze, and repeated cutbacks in educational expenditures.

The deteriorating living and working conditions on the campus are a reflection of the growing crises facing the university and Canadian society. We find ourselves in a period of deepening recession, a period characterized by massive inflation, growing unemployment, and record levels of corporate profits.

WHY THE CRISIS IN EDUCATION?

The basic aims of both the provincial Conservatives and the federal Liberals are the same: adamant on cutting back education. The province — sponsored COPSEO Report recommends that educational expenditures decline from 6.1% of the Gross Provincial Product in 1970 to 4.6% in 1980 — a 25% decrease, and that students should pay 50% of operating costs in the future, instead of 13% as in 1971.

The federal Peitchinis Report suggests that students should pay 58% of operating costs!

Both governments represent the interests of the large American and Canadian corporations that control the Liberal and Tory parties. Their policies reflect the need to rationalize the educational system to meet the needs of these corporations. The economic crises facing Canada and other Western countries have resulted in a decreased demand for skilled technicians, teachers and white collar workers. In Canada, this process is particularly acute because most of the research, planning and development used in industry is carried out in the United States.

An additional benefit is accrued by the corporations in the form of increased subsidies and decreased corporate taxes from the government savings engendered by the cuts in educational, hospital and other social service expenditures.

At the same time as social services are cut back, corporation profits are skyrocketing, and the level of corporate taxation is decreasing. From 1962 to 1970, the corporate share of all provincial income tax revenue dropped from approximately 60% to 25% while the share of individual income tax rose from 40% to 75%.

THE IMPACT OF THE CUTBACKS AT YORK

For the last three years government post-secondary spending has fallen behind the rate of inflation. The projected increase for the 75/76 fiscal year is only 7.4% per Basic Income Unit, which falls far short of

the 16.7% that university administrators demanded to break even. The new round of budget cuts necessitated by the squeeze will lead to further deteriorations in a university already crippled by previous cuts. We are only too familiar with the effects of these previous cuts.

FOOD AND OTHER SERVICES

One of the areas hit hardest has been student services. Residence and food costs are certain to increase next year as the administration will take advantage of its monopoly control over services to produce profits from these areas. The disgusting quality and cost of food at York is destined to become even more expensive and more repulsive. Recently, the Food Services Committee (purportedly a student controlled advisory group but in reality an apologist for the Administration) distributed a food survey which offered students several options for next year. We could choose between 1. the present system (complete with scrip) 2. an exotic variant complete with franchises (Can you imagine Colonel Sanders every day?) 3. vending machines.

The administration refuses to refund any of the worthless scrip that students will have left over at the end of term. Many students will be stuck with considerable quantities of this worthless paper that they were forced to buy. On top of all this, the administration juggles the books to make it look as if they are losing money on such operations as cafeteria and the bookstore. They do not tell us that in fact, one branch of the administration, Physical Plant overcharges another branch, Ancillary Services, for maintenance work to the tune of tens of thousands each year.

We must understand that the source of the wretched food problem is not Versa, they only cook and serve the food and make a 3% profit on gross sales. *The real source is an administration that insists on making profits from services to subsidize their massive budget deficit.* Getting rid of Versa will not solve the problem.

THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION

The more recent round of cutbacks poses a serious threat which challenges the whole purpose and nature of university education as we all know it. The Board of Governors at York insists on maintaining a balanced budget for the next few years so that the already enormous accumulated deficit of \$1.6 million will not increase. To maintain this policy, the administration has made a further cut of 1.3 million from next year's already emaciated budget.

How will these spending restrictions be met? Mainly by substantially increasing class sizes through allowing for a slight increase in enrollment and by substantially reducing the numbers of faculty. Faculty members who retire, quit or go on sabbatical, will not be replaced. Lecturers and

other non-tenured faculty will be replaced by lower paid graduate students.

There is a possibility that the tutorial system, the heart of the teaching and learning process at York may be sacrificed to balance the budget. In any case, the budget cuts mean a serious deterioration in the quality of education at York.

THE FORGOTTEN ELEMENT: WHITE AND BLUE COLLAR STAFF

Perhaps the part of the York community, hardest hit by the budget crises has been the membership of the Staff Association (YUSA), the maintenance workers (CUPE 1356), and other workers such as the security guards, and the Versa and heating plant employees. In the past few years these workers have seen their work load increase at the same time as their real take home pay has decreased substantially.

For instance, the members of CUPE won a two year contract in 1973, with first year increase of 8% and 8% in the second year on a base rate which was already much lower than in comparative industries. Since January 1973 inflation has risen at least 22%. The members of the staff association, mainly women, have even lower wages than the unionized workers.

The administration has victimized these workers in order to balance the budget in much the same manner as it has treated students. The workers however, in many cases, have to maintain a family and find it very difficult to do so under present conditions. Students much realize that the workers on the campus are our closest allies in our struggle to defend the university.

We must support the attempts of all the campus workers to get decent wages and protect their jobs. In particular we must support the wage demands of the CUPE local in their current negotiations with the administration.

STUDENT AID, TUITION INCREASES AND UNIVERSITY ACCESSIBILITY

In the fall of 1972, tuition fees were raised \$100 and the OSAP loan ceiling went from \$600 to \$800. These changes meant that the cost of education went up some \$300 per year. A secret Federal report leaked to the Ontario Federation of Students asserts that tuition fees should be increased further next year or the year after and that a contingency repayment scheme be introduced. This scheme (CORSAP) means that student loans will be repaid by automatic deductions from the wages of students when they graduate.

The overall result of tuition increases and CORSAP will be to prevent youth from working class families from enrolling in universities. If the various levels of government carry through with their plans to make students pay 50% of operating costs then university education will once again be the privilege of the wealthy. EDUCATION MUST BE A RIGHT AND NOT A PRIVILEGE.

Although students from a working class background are most affected by tuition and loan ceiling increases the majority of students are also deleteriously affected. Ontario allocated \$15 million less in student aid in 1974/75 than it did in 71/72 in spite of a much larger number of students applying.

Since 1971 the weekly living allowance has remained at \$32, while the cost of living has risen more than 50%. These factors combined with the extremely poor student employment situation coming up this summer, will reduce the living standards of many students and further limit university accessibility. The only solution to ensure that all people will be able to enjoy post-secondary education is to ABOLISH TUITION COSTS AND PAY STUDENTS A LIVING WAGE.

WHO SHOULD PAY FOR EDUCATION?

At the present time almost all education costs are borne by personal income taxes or property taxes. This situation is very unjust because the corporations who benefit most from the post-secondary education system pay almost nothing. Over the past

three years, the Big Business community has reaped record profits. This past year, INCO, a huge American controlled resource corporation cleaned up more than \$300 million in profits after taxation.

A six per cent increase in Ontario's corporation taxes would more than double the present student aid budget. The hypocrisy of both the provincial and federal governments is clearly shown by the Syncrude rip-off. Ottawa is investing \$300 million and Queen's Park, \$100 million, in a project which NDP House leader Ed Broadbent calls the Biggest rip-off in Canadian history.

It is clear that there is money available. The Syncrude project should be nationalized and the profits re-invested in social services, which would benefit the majority of Canada's population rather than enriching a few American capitalists.

A PROGRAM TO FIGHT THE CUTBACKS

The teachers, nurses and hospital workers of the province have set an example which students can learn from. The mass demonstrations, strikes and other actions of these government workers forced the government to delay implementing cutbacks in the schools and hospitals.

A broad coalition of students, staff and faculty must be formed immediately on the campus to fight the cutbacks. A province-wide organization which coordinates the activities of various campus committees would be a step forward. In this regard, the action conference at Brock on March 7, 8, 9 will be an important event. The ULS is helping to build this conference and we would urge that any students interested in fighting the cutbacks attend.

We must have no illusions about the York administration being an ally of the students. Their overall policy has been to implement the cutbacks rather than fight against them. President Macdonald in fact, as the Deputy Treasurer of the Province was responsible for designing cutback policies in the first place! We can look only to ourselves and to the staff and Faculty for allies.

We can win but only if we organize the strength of the students, faculty and staff on a province-wide basis!

- NO MORE FEE HIKES
- NO INCREASE IN STUDENT - FACULTY RATIOS
- SUBSIDIZED FOOD SERVICE
- SUPPORT CUPE
- TAX CORPORATION PROFITS TO PAY FOR EDUCATION

THE UNIVERSITY AS AN ELITIST AND UNDEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION

York proclaims itself a liberal university committed to progressive policies.

Yet the university is not an ivory tower of learning divorced from the outer world. Since the university plays an institutional role in our society, it reflects all the injustices of that society.

At York, power is concentrated at the top, vested mainly in the Board of Governors and the President and his Advisory Council. The Board maintains control of York's overall budget and hires chief administrators. In this way, the Board sets the financial priorities of the university.

Most of the members of the Board are drawn from large corporations where they serve as directors and upper echelon executives. York is one of the largest universities in Canada whose Board still holds closed meetings. Of its 27 seats, there is only one student elected to the Board.

An example of the Board's pro-business perspective is its refusal to budget a deficit next year: they would rather see staff and faculty fired, students forced to pay increases in tuition, books, residence and food, and York's educational standards jeopardized, than challenge the corporate ideal of a balanced budget.

The President and his Advisory Council are mainly concerned with the daily administration of the university, and cannot overstep directives sent down from the



Alternative

board without its approval. The President's office is basically a self-perpetuating bureaucracy.

The faculty has some influence on York affairs through its majority representation in the Senate. Senate committees regulate most academic activity including hiring, firing and tenure, course content and examinations.

The Senate has to operate within a budgetary framework established by the board and under an administration chosen by the Board, so in reality its power is somewhat limited.

But the Senate is innately conservative: most of its members are tenured faculty who teach very little and cannot identify with the concerns of the students nor the younger, more progressive faculty. In the past the Senate has taken such anti-student measures as threatening academic sanctions and de-registration against students who participated in the 1973 fee strike. The Senate has even refused to defend non-tenured faculty members whose jobs were threatened by government cutbacks.

The Senate's most recent repressive legislation established academic sanctions against students for unpaid library fines. A graduate's degree can now be withheld for outstanding library fines of \$25. There are no equivalent penalties for faculty.

Students have token representation on the Senate: 15 seats out of 150. Under a current proposal to "streamline" the Senate to 60 seats, students will actually lose from our present insufficient representation.

One of the most undemocratic processes within York is the token representation of students on evaluation committees for Tenure and Promotion.

The only representation the students have is their participation in the evaluation surveys which are usually meaningless, as evidenced in the case of Professor A. Benvenuto. Decisions made by the committee reflect the opinion of the faculty and not that of the students.

We strongly believe that all committees, including Tenure and Promotion, must have student representation. These representatives must be elected by, and be responsible to student assemblies in the various departments.

In spite of the fact that Professor Benvenuto's students consider him to be an "excellent" teacher, hence qualified for tenure under the "exceptional" category, the department Tenure and Promotion Committee has denied him tenure. The grounds of their decision were based primarily on the fact that Professor Benvenuto has not published.

On the contrary we strongly believe that teaching should be the most important criteria and should be reflected as such with regard to tenure. Furthermore, we believe that tenure should be reviewed every five years by a committee with representation of both students and faculty, in order to maintain the high quality of education.

The present power structures at York are designed to protect the interests of big business, of regressive faculty, and of a self-perpetuating bureaucracy.

It is quite clear that students cannot depend on the Board, the administration, or even the faculty to provide us with the university education nor the environment that we expect.

Yet York's undemocratic structure is even more fundamental. Built during the Berkeley Free Speech Movement of the 1960's, York was designed to insure that the student voice on campus would be effectively and permanently dispersed.

By fragmenting the student body into smaller, more manageable colleges, by encouraging a competitive spirit between these colleges, and by designing the physical environment of the university to emphasize the outlying colleges instead of a focal meeting place, the planners of York hoped to defuse all meaningful and unified student action.

We recognize that the college system at York can provide a legitimate social and academic experience. Yet we are also aware of the limitations this system can impose on student political expression.

The ULS supports the concept that the university should be controlled by those who work and study here, and not by business interests or an isolated bureaucracy.

To demonstrate the decision-making process at York, it is necessary to restructure the university so that power is equally divided. We demand that all important decisions, including finances, be made by a Governing Council, to be composed of equal representation from students, staff and faculty.

In short, we demand the abolition of the Board of Governors and the Senate, and the implementation of student-staff-faculty control.

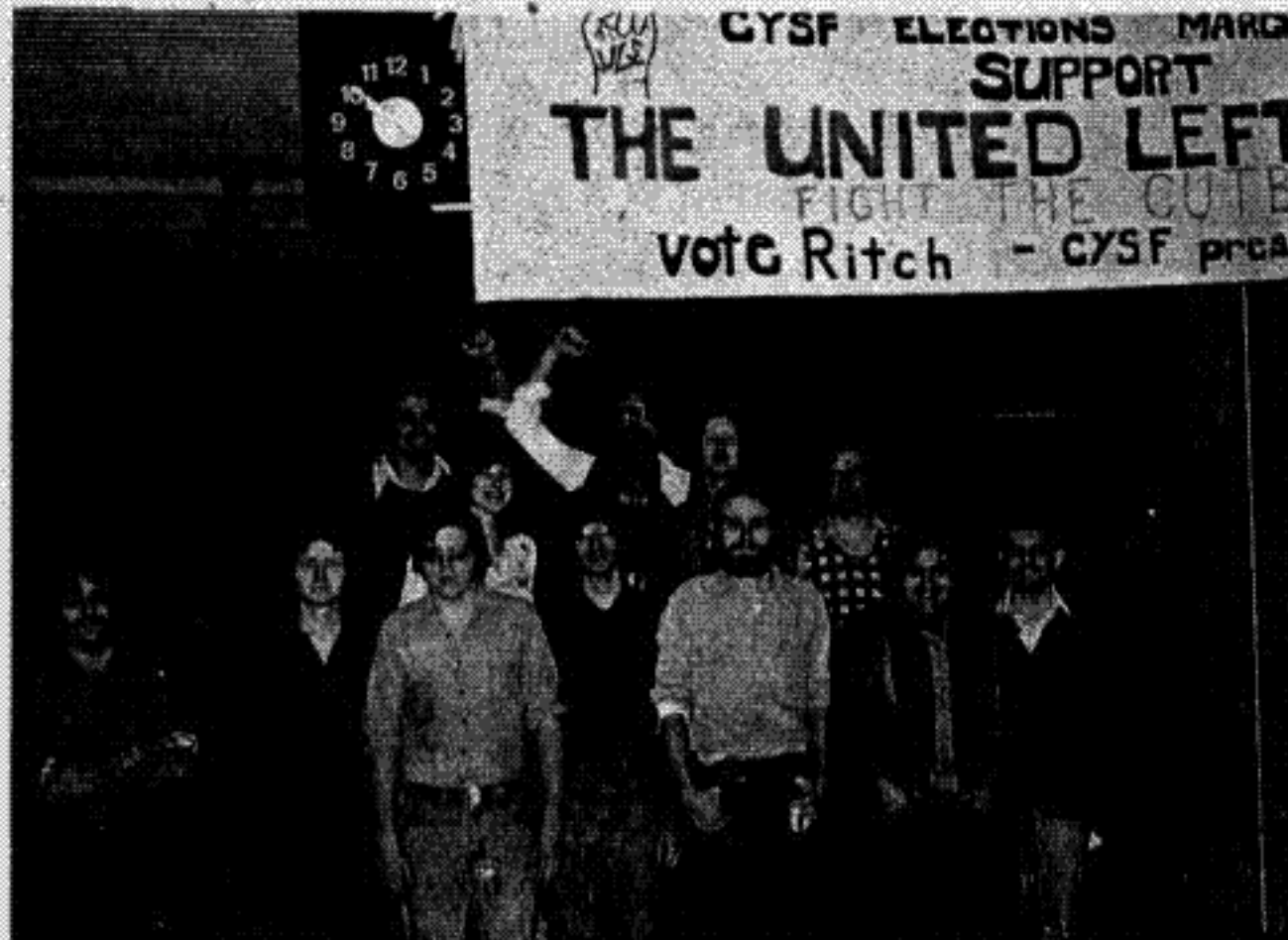
Racism in Canadian society

Usually Canada is upheld as the shining liberal opposite of the racist society in the U.S. In reality recent developments have dramatically illustrated the racist and class biased nature of Canadian society.

The white establishment's Canada has a history of racism towards various peoples: 1. the destructions of the native peoples' societies during the establishment of Canada, 2. the forceable incorporation of the Quebecois into the Canadian state, 3. the proposal of Wilfred Laurier in 1911 to ban Black people from Canada, and 4. the decision of Prime Minister MacKenzie King denying entry to Jews just prior to and during World War II and so turning them back into the hands of the Nazis.

Recent developments have again illustrated the racist policy of Canada. With the present economic recession Robert Andras, Minister of Manpower and Immigration, demagogically is using immigration as a scapegoat for the deepening social and economic crisis in Canada. With rising unemployment and the recent surge in immigration applications from Third World countries Andras stated, "I am announcing changes in our immigration regulations because immigrants are applying for entry and arriving in increasing numbers at a time when employment levels may well be uncertain". More honest was the remark of Peter Stollery, Liberal chairman of the Commons Manpower and Immigration Committee; "My feeling is that the government is cutting back because we are being swamped by applications from non-white countries".

By appearing to be doing something about an increasing unemployment level, by cutting back on immigration, Andras is in fact fomenting racism and attempting to divert public attention away from the unemployed. The direction of such a racist policy is to lead non-black working people to blame Black workers for their insecurity. This policy exists for students as well, for those of us who are studying on student visas are not allowed to work in the summer unless given permission. Dennis McDermott, the Canadian director of the United Auto Workers, has attacked the Liberals saying, "Immigration policies are being used as a scapegoat for the failure of the government's monetary and fiscal policies".



A gathering of ULS candidates and supporters

Not only are immigration policies racist but they are further restricted by giving preference to middle-class people. This found its most vicious application when Chilians fleeing the CIA sponsored coup last September were screened to exclude poorer applicants as well as being discriminated on the basis of their political beliefs. Overall, few Chilians were given entry, the rest being turned back to the butcher Generals. Similarly, Haitians are presently being deported to face imprisonment, torture and death at the hands of the Haitian secret police. Rosie Douglas, a Black leader threatened with deportation, is yet another case of racial and political discrimination. Horace Campbell writing in *Contrast* (the Black community paper) concluded that Canadians must, "terminate American domination of its economy and move to socialize the productive process with workers self-management if there is to be racial harmony... We of the black community will continue to work as honest citizens and by our example show that the real enemies of the working people are those who profit from our labor".

-HANDS OFF ROSIE DOUGLAS -NO HAITIAN DEPORTATIONS -END RACIST IMMIGRATION LAWS

Because students have the education and the time to involve themselves in important issues and because students are affected by the day to day events off campus as much as anybody else, CYSF has the responsibility to draw attention to and organize in defence of the struggles of oppressed people in Canada and throughout the world.

An example of an issue which should have been actively supported this year by CYSF but wasn't, was the campaign organized by the Ukrainian student's Association on behalf of Valentyn Moroz and other Soviet political dissidents.

Fight for women's rights

In areas in society which offer a graduate more influence (such as economics, law, and business) women students are grossly under-represented.

The women cleaning staff (members of CUPE 1356) earn 56¢/hr. less than male cleaners who perform work of equivalent difficulty and importance. The union has tried to rectify this injustice by fighting for an across the board increase in the current negotiations, thus proportionately reducing the disparity. However, the administration so far has refused to meet this demand.

The real nature of the overall discrimination is indicated by the fact that women occupy only 3 of 27 positions on the Board of Governors, the chief ruling body at York.

In every sense of the word, York University is a bastion of male supremacy. Furthermore, conditions for women on the campus, both from the point of view of studying and of teaching, are deteriorating rather than improving. Since women faculty members by and large occupy the lowest levels of the faculty hierarchy, ie. are tenured or on contractual appointments, they will be the first to be fired when the budget crunch hits.

Harbinger and Health Services have had substantial cuts in their operating budgets over the past year on account of the budget crisis. These cuts are denying women necessary medical and practical advice on pregnancy, birth control and abortions. The various student organizations have been forced more and more to pay for basic human services which should be financed by the administration and the government.

The budget cuts have also severely affected the York Day Care Center. Many of the parents are now paying \$155 a month, an increase of \$52 since December. Due to a lack of finances, some parents have withdrawn from the day care center. There are many more parents who are prevented from enrolling their children because of the limited facilities. The university has reneged on a past promise to allocate \$300,000 dollars to build a new day center citing budget difficulties for their excuse.

The appeal by the center to the administration for financial help received a flat no. We consider this response to be intolerable. It is the responsibility of the administration and various levels of government to subsidize the operations of the day care center so that women who have children will be free to study and work at York. It is also essential that the day care services be extended to evening students, faculty and staff.

The problems facing the day care center at York have been exacerbated by the Tory government's educational cutbacks.

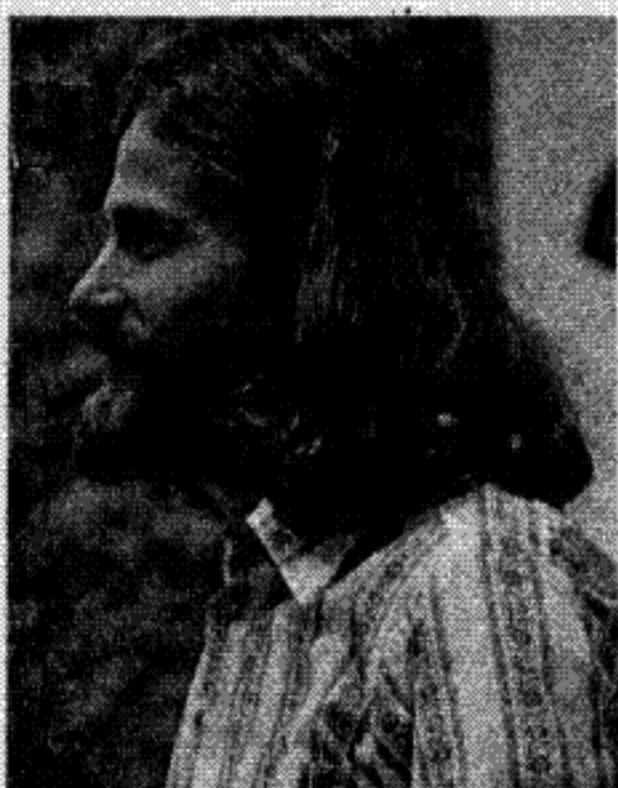
We support Dr. Morgentaler and intend to protest any move that the government might take to make abortions more difficult to obtain. We strongly believe that abortion should be removed from the criminal code and that the matter of abortion must be left up to the woman involved. As long as women are forced by their society to bear the children that they may accidentally conceive, they will be unable to participate fully and equally in Canadian society.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S YEAR

Very shortly, a York Senate document on the Status of Women at York will be released. This report will graphically document many of the discriminatory aspects of life at York. The administration must act immediately to rectify all these injustices, and the CYSF must organize students to make sure that they do.

If positive steps are not taken, then International Women's Year will be just a hollow slogan at York. So far there has been very little done by any organized bodies at York, administrative, student, or otherwise to educate members of the community about the importance of the Women's Rights Struggle. The ULS sees that International Women's Year presents an important opportunity to educate and organize around all of the many issues of importance to women. This opportunity must not be missed.

-EQUAL PAY FOR WORK OF EQUAL VALUE -REPEAL ABORTION LAWS -FOR AN EXPANDED, SUBSIDIZED DAYCARE CENTER



Presidential candidate Dale Ritch

CYSF: TIME FOR A CHANGE

We see the CYSF as an organization that represents York students in daily affairs both on and off campus, not an organization that serves the political aspirations of CYSF members.

We believe the CYSF should not replace students but serve as an on-going representative and organizer for them. CYSF must involve the student body in all major decisions and keep them informed of all issues concerning them as members of the university and the global community.

In this period of cut-backs and administration imposed campus regulations, it is obvious that York students need a strong, campus-wide political organization to defend their interests. However, by itself CYSF is a weak body.

In order to organize and interest students, the CYSF must become a tangible part of campus life rather than an elitist, isolated body.

CYSF must be democratized with more emphasis on mass meetings, referenda and opinion polls.

To be an effective and meaningful student council, CYSF meetings must be held on at least a bi-weekly basis, in a location and at a time when most students can attend.

The proposal to incorporate CYSF is a proposal which puts too much power in the hands of the executive. Under Corpor-

ation law, the Board of Directors (executive) has almost dictatorial powers. Furthermore, the only rationale to incorporate CYSF is so that members of council would be protected in any business ventures that the Council may start up. Since we do not think that CYSF should become a holding company and also that CYSF must be as democratic as possible we oppose incorporation.

Because it is necessary for CYSF to serve as a unified and strong student voice, we believe it is imperative that Bethune College become part of the council. For this reason we will make a concerted effort to persuade Bethune students to become members of CYSF in the fall, thus helping create a council that is truly representative of York students.

We believe it is necessary to support provincial and national student organizations (OFS and NUS) in organizing students on a broader, more powerful level.

The CYSF must spark and nourish discussion on issues not immediately related to the university, on the provincial, national and international scene. This can be done through teach-ins, speakers and organized debates. This is necessary if York is to escape its isolationist, 'ivory tower' attitudes.

The CYSF is presently vulnerable to the whims of the administration because the president has veto power over all council motions and the Board of Governors is not legally committed to funding council.

CYSF must become independent of the university administration and be guaranteed a source of income if it is to function effectively.

Although we are primarily a political organization, the ULS realizes the importance of social events to a vibrant university community. Many opportunist student politicians have attempted to use their alleged prowess in organizing social activities to justify their "do-nothing" administrations. This year, as in the past, they have failed even in this respect. We propose the creation of a central pool of funds from CYSF, and the college councils to provide the initial capital to finance a programme of top quality dances and concerts throughout the year.

This year's CYSF has been so 'gutless' and ineffective that it even refused to take any action against the cut-backs in education until they were forced to face this crisis by the ULS supported, CYSF left caucus.

As well, Anne Scotton has not approached her presidency with any commitment and has somehow found it justifiable to accept a \$5,000 salary while being a full-time student.

Dale Ritch intends to be a full-time CYSF president and this commitment will be instrumental in helping make CYSF an instrument of campus leadership.

DALE RITCH PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

COLLEGE AND GRADUATE REPS

CALUMET COLLEGE:

1. BRENDA WEEKS
- member, York NDP club
2. ROBERT KASHER (HOMOLIE)
- Radio York staff

FOUNDERS COLLEGE:

1. PAUL KELLOGG
- Excalibur sports editor
2. GEORGE MANIOS
- member political science student union
3. THANASIS CHRISTODOULOPOULOS
- economics major

MCLAUGHLIN COLLEGE:

1. FRANK GIORNO
- political science major
2. MICHAEL VITOPOULOS
- President: Hellenic Student Ass.
3. GORD GRAHAM
- Excalibur news service editor

STONG COLLEGE:

1. MICHAEL HOLLETT
- former news editor of Excalibur
2. PETER JAILALL
- member BPM
3. PETER YANNOPOULOS
- member, Hellenic Student Ass.

VANIER:

1. PAUL STUART
- Excalibur writer
2. DINI BAKER
- political science major
3. HEMRAJ RAMDATH
- executive member of BPM

WINTERS COLLEGE:

1. JANICE McARTHUR
- acting chairperson: York NDP club
2. SUSAN GRANT
- York Ctte. for the Right to Choose
3. MARY LOCHHEAD
- visual arts major

GRADUATE STUDIES:

1. ABIE WEISFELD
- York Socialist League club
2. STATHIS STATHOPOULOS
- Hellenic Student Ass.

ULS VICTORY CHALLENGED

THE STUDENTS OF YORK UNIVERSITY HAVE OVERWHELMINGLY DECIDED THE
OUTCOME OF THE CYSF ELECTIONS IN FAVOUR OF DALE RITCH AND THE UNITED LEFT SLATE.

The ULS has won 10 out of the 16 constituency seats it contested, as well as 3 graduate seats. J.J. Koornstra, the surrogate presidential candidate for Dale Ritch, received a landslide victory, with almost 50% of the vote. This is the most decisive victory of any presidential candidate in CYSF history.

The ULS candidate also won the first election for student representative on the Board of Governors. The ULS stand on the incorporation issue was also supported by the student body through the defeat of the referendum.

These results considered together leave the ULS in a position to implement its program next year.

However, a motion was passed at the March 12, 1975 CYSF Council meeting to thwart the anticipated ULS victory. This motion made a new presidential election mandatory upon a positive response to an opinion poll.

This opinion poll was intended to deceive and manipulate the supporters of the ULS. Their vote on the poll was in protest against the persistent anti-ULS actions of the campaign period; they did not realize that their votes would be used in a manoeuvre to attempt to overturn their own decision to elect Dale Ritch.

The opinion poll was not only deceptive but illegal. It was carried out in a manner which clearly contravened section 24 of the CYSF constitution. Following its adoption, further illegal actions have been undertaken; although such polls must be allowed a 14 day campaign period for discussion, and their precise wording approved by the council, these and other requirements were blatantly disregarded in this case as part of a desperate manoeuvre against the ULS. On the basis of this unconstitutional poll, the election tribunal has again stepped in to subvert the democratic rights of all students by overturning the results of the presidential election. The motive behind this latest manoeuvre is to allow the elements aligned against the ULS an opportunity to regroup around fewer candidates and thus attempt to nullify the conclusive vote of the students.

Despite the discriminatory practices carried out against it, the ULS has viewed the elections as binding.

Recognizing that no fair election can take place under the present student administration, the ULS is applying for a court order to halt the proposed election on March 24, 25. Since the student bureaucracy persists in disregarding the constitution as well as the clearly expressed will of the students, and since there is no provision to appeal within the CYSF, the ULS is forced to place the matter before the courts.

We look forward to assuming office on May 1st, and we are fully prepared to proceed with a fair presidential by-election in the fall as our campaign declared.

COME TO THE ULS VICTORY RALLY: THURSDAY NOON AT THE BEARPIT!!!

For further information: Rm. 124 Central Square.

RITCH WINS

IT IS A WELL KNOWN FACT THAT THE FORCES OF REACTION WERE AGAINST US. BOTH THE LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE PARTY, ANN SCOTTON AND THE CORPORATIONS WERE BACKING HIGELI AS A LAST DITCH ATTEMPT TO PREVENT THE SOCIALISTIC VICTORY AT YORK UNIVERSITY. EVEN THE ADMINISTRATION WANTS PAUL HIGELI AND NOT DALE RITCH. THEY HAD ALL CONSPIRED TOGETHER TO PREVENT FREE ELECTIONS. THEY HAD FAILED. THE CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATION OF THE RIGHT WING CANDIDATE PAUL HIGELI IS SHATTERED AND IN DISARRAY. THE MORAL WAS BROKEN WHEN THE ULS WAS VICTORIOUS IN WINNING 'TWO THIRDS OF THOSE COUNCIL SEATS UP FOR ELECTION. WHEN OUR LEADER DALE RITCH TAKES HIS RIGHTFUL PLACE AS PRESIDENT, AFTER FOURS YEARS OF WORKING TOWARDS THIS GOAL, STUDENTS OF THIS UNIVERSITY WILL THEN REALIZE HOW TRULY LUCKY THEY ARE. THE YORK STUDENT COUNCIL WILL NOW BE HEADED BY A MAN WHO IS DYNAMIC AND ARTICULATE: A MAN OF DESTINY WHO IS TRULY ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE REVOLUTION. ON THE OTHER HAND, PAUL HIGELI WHO WHEN THE VOTES ARE COUNTED WEDNESDAY NIGHT, WILL CERTAINLY BE DEFEATED. HE IS NOT THE MAN THAT DALE IS. HIGELI'S BACKERS CLAIM HE IS REASONABLE, WE SUGGEST THIS MEANS A SPINELESS MAN OF COMPROMISE. PAUL HIGELI CLAIMED HE WAS WILLING TO DO THE 'DULL HARD WORK THAT MUST BE DONE.' ANYONE FAMILIAR WITH CAPITALIST PROPOGANDA COULD SEE THROUGH THESE WORDS. HE IS ADMITTING THAT HE IS MERELY A PENCIL PUSHING BUREAUCRAT. THE STUDENTS OF YORK UNIVERSITY ARE SICK OF BUREAUCRATS, WHO ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN DULL INTERNAL UNIVERSITY AFFAIRS. THEY WANT SOMEONE THEY WANT SOMEONE AND ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT WE WILL HAVE SOMEONE WHO WILL LEAD ALL OF US INTO THE VANGUARD OF THE REVOLUTION; TO FIGHT RACISM, ZIONISM, FACISM AND CAPITALISM. VICTORY IS INEVITABLE. TOGETHER WE WILL BUILD A BETTER SOCIETY FOR ALL.

-THE NEW AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR FAIR ELECTIONS:

P.S. (MR. C.R.O.)

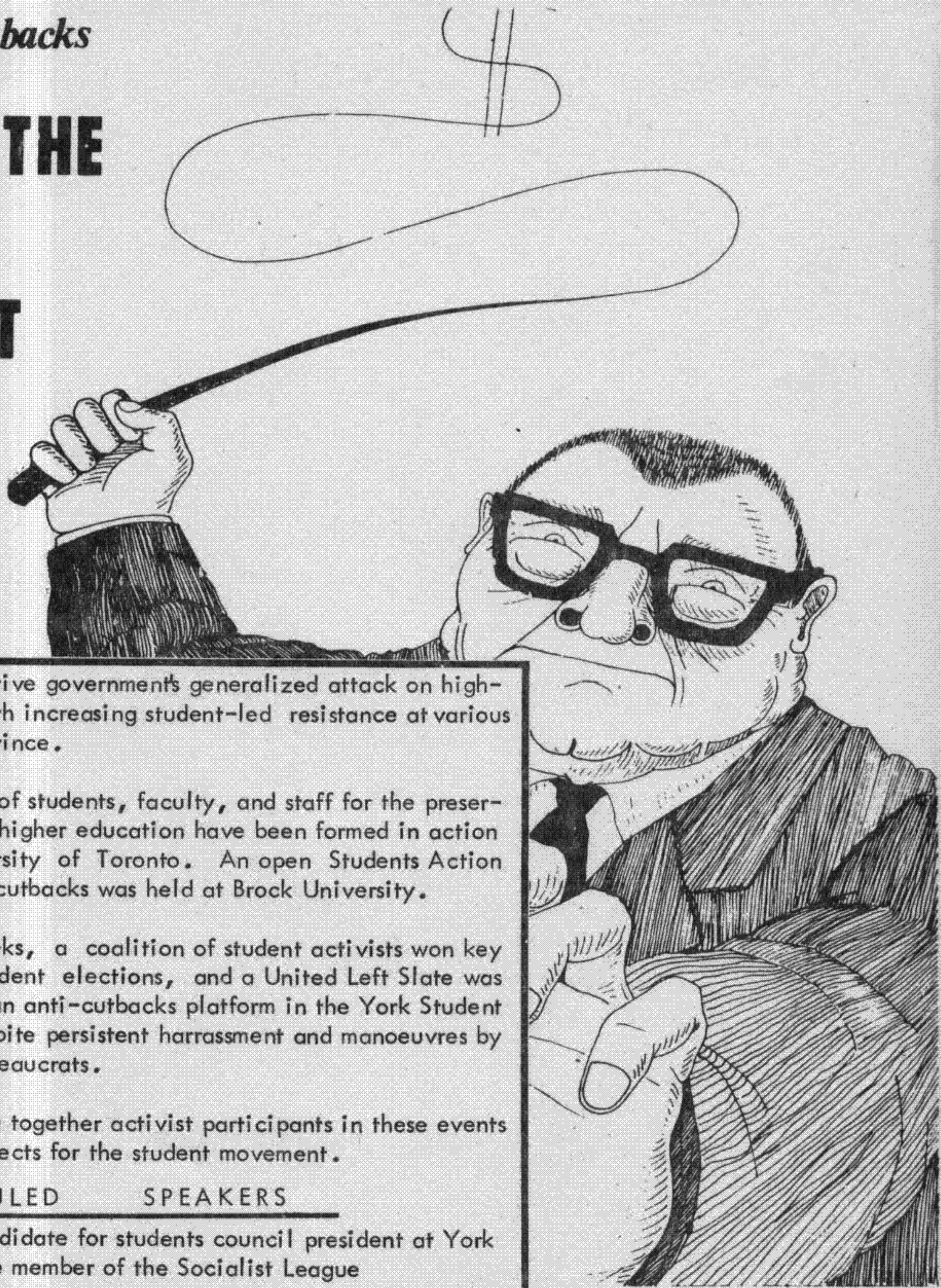
THIS WAS PUT OUT BY SOME SUPPORTERS AND SYMPATHIZERS WITHOUT THE CANDIDATE 'S SPECIFIC KNOWLEDGE AND THEREFORE YOU CANNOT USE THIS LETTER COMING OUT ON ELECTION DAY AS GROUNDS TO DISQUALIFY DALE AGAIN AS YOU WOULD LIKE TO DO. THE U.L.S. HAS A RIGHT TO FAIR ELECTIONS AND SO YOU CANNOT DISQUALIFY DALE.

REMEMBER: A VOTE FOR RITCH IS A VOTE FOR FAIR ELECTIONS!

Educational cutbacks

WHERE IS THE STUDENT MOVEMENT GOING?

*at the
FORWARD
FORUM*



The Ontario Conservative government's generalized attack on higher education has met with increasing student-led resistance at various campuses across the province.

Mass Common Fronts of students, faculty, and staff for the preservation of the quality of higher education have been formed in action at Ottawa and at University of Toronto. An open Students Action Conference against the cutbacks was held at Brock University.

In the last two weeks, a coalition of student activists won key posts in the Brock student elections, and a United Left Slate was swept into office on an anti-cutbacks platform in the York Student Council elections, despite persistent harassment and manoeuvres by conservative student bureaucrats.

The forum will bring together activist participants in these events for a discussion on prospects for the student movement.

SCHEDULED SPEAKERS

DALE RITCH - ULS Candidate for students council president at York
- executive member of the Socialist League

ANHELYA SZUCH - elected ULS candidate for York Board of Governors
- editor of Ukrainian students' newspaper STUDENT

CHARLES LEE - Student Ombudsman at Brock U.
- an organizer of the recent Ontario Students Action Conference against the cutbacks.

FRED LINDAL - recently elected as student representative to Brock Senate
- member of Brock Socialist Students Coalition

Thurs. Mar. 27
8PM
252 Bloor W

(BLOOR & ST. GEORGE)

RM. N-201

For Info: 363-6755

The Socialist League presents a

New Year's TRADITIONAL SOCIALIST ZPARTY

TUESDAY, DEC. 31st at 8:30PM

at

STAR TEMPLE HALL

843a Gerrard Street East (at Carlaw)

Tickets available \$4.50 - Please reserve 363-6755

DANCING

ENTERTAINMENT

BUFFET

Child Care facilities will be provided if needed - so please inform us.

...and if, on the morning after the night before you've had enough
booze, food & late nights, come and recover at

THE
SOCIALIST
LEAGUE

CARNIVAL

AT
Central Don Riding
Stable
(Leslie St. north Eglinton)

Sleigh Ride

NEW YEARS DAY
January 1st, 1975

AT 2:30 PM

MEET AT WILKET CREEK PARK - West off Leslie St.,
just north of Eglinton Ave.

\$2.50 per person (\$2.00 for children under 12)

FREE HOT CHOCOLATE! BRING THE KIDS!

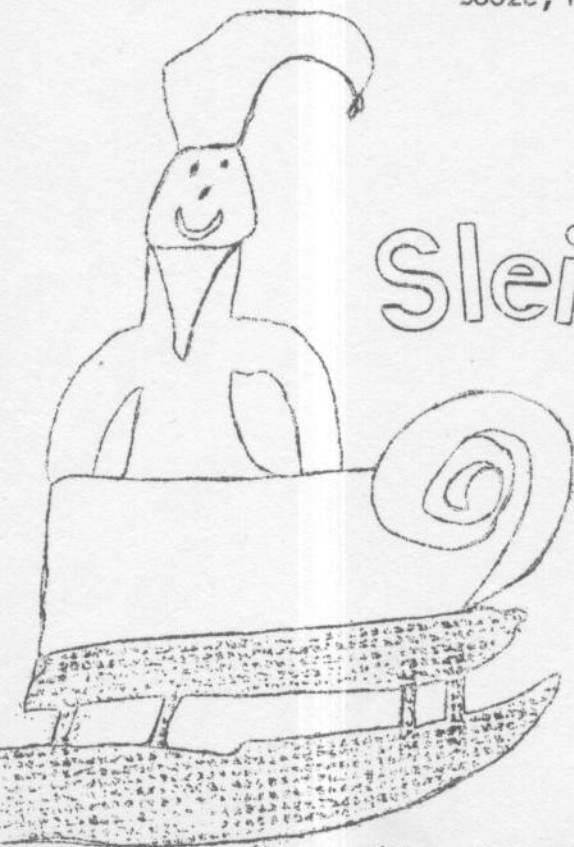
BRING YOUR TOBOGGANS! WARM CLOTHES!
(If no snow, there'll be a Hay Ride)

After we are invited to

Rozi & Gord Doctorow's, 169 Rusty Crestway
(West off Don Mills Rd., just south of Finch Ave.,
phone: 493-6829)

PUNCH AND SOUP will be served.

(Please inform us in advance if you are attending at 363-6755)



(Found in 1975)

CLASS SERIES

the Marxist view on life and culture

1ST CLASS THE SCIENTIFIC VIEWPOINT UNDER ATTACK

JAN 17

Religion and various mystical cults have a new influence today, particularly among the youth who are searching for an answer to the meaning of life. How does Science stand up before this torrent, and in particular, Marxism, as an explanation of the world and a guide to its transformation? The speaker will be Jane Chisolm.

2ND CLASS

A MARXIST VIEW OF ART

JAN 31

The History of Painting in Canada Toward a Peoples Art--by Barry Lord has been widely reviewed since its publication last month. The mere fact that it seriously attempts to grapple with this broad question of increasing interest to Canadians makes it important. The speaker, Ross Dowson, will focus on some of the problems posed by this book.

3RD CLASS

MARXISM AND THE LAW

FEB 7

Police violence, plea bargaining, wire-tapping, and police secrecy. What is the law, constitutions, and the state? Radical lawyer Harry Kopyto will make these ideas the basis for his presentation.

AUSPICES OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE

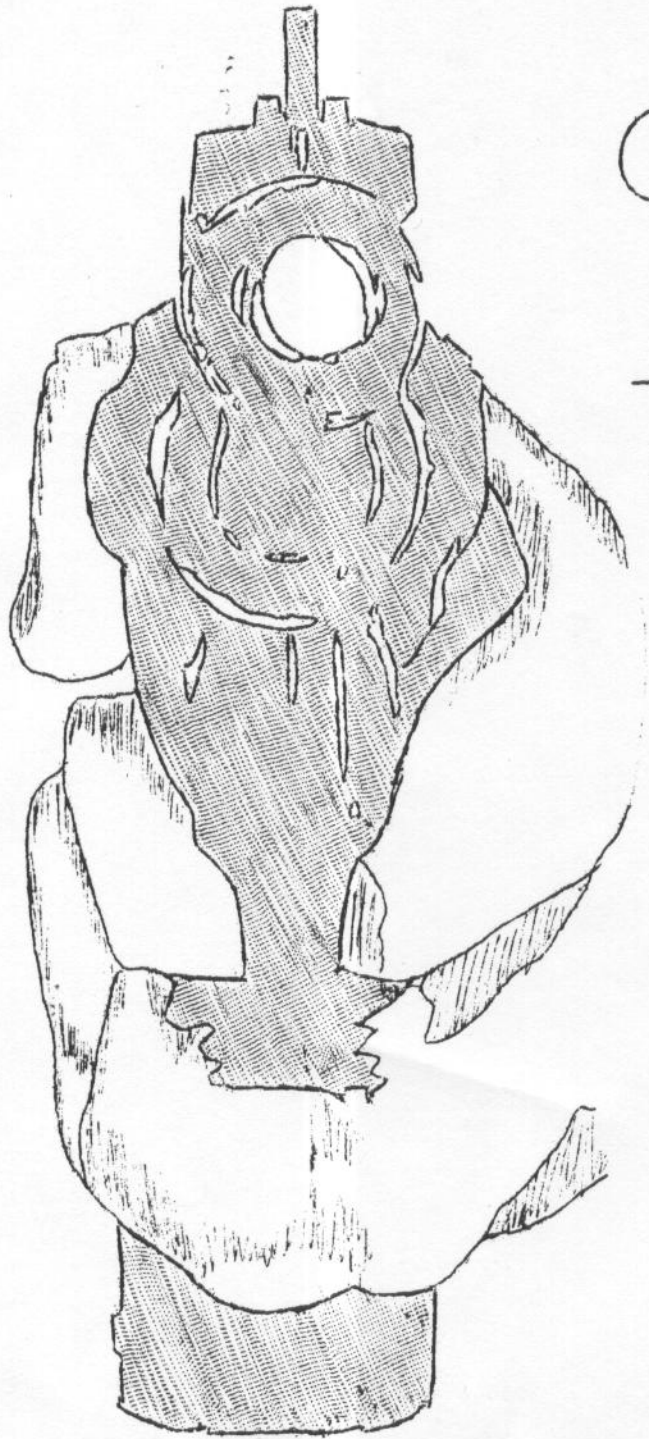
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PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. 1, No. 6 Feb. 1975 Toronto 20 Cents

COLA labor's key demand in fight against inflation

By Jim Chapin

The struggle for cost-of-living allowance (COLA) to combat the effects of double-digit inflation is breathing new combativity into union struggles. For the first time in the history of Kodak and Colgate, workers formed picket lines to back up demands for COLA. A long and bitter strike waged by the Ontario rubber workers won them a COLA contract. The United Aircraft strike in Longueuil, Que. now in its second year, is still holding out for COLA. Recently, the Metro Toronto District Council of CUPE, representing 13 CUPE locals, is demanding a mid-term contract COLA increase. They have threatened to demonstrate and even strike to back up their demands. These are only a few examples of unions' engaging in struggle to gain COLA so that their members don't have to suffer the effects of inflation.

In the face of these dramatic events, some union leaders have rejected the merits of COLA. Ralph Starr, research director of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers in an article in the December issue of

the Canadian Transport attacks COLA as being part of the Liberal government's "labour pacification program". Starr states that COLA doesn't serve the interests of working people because the consumer price index (CPI) which COLA contracts would be geared to, doesn't give a true picture of the rise in the cost of living. He argues that besides not reflecting workers buying patterns it doesn't take into account the increases in payroll deductions such as income tax. Moreover, he states, COLA payments always lag behind the rate of inflation and are often capped by maximum annual payments. Starr also predicted in his article that the 1975 inflation rate should recede to an average of 8 to 10 per cent. This prediction was mainly based on his statistic that the money supply has decreased 12 per cent below 1973. Since inflation is not expected to be high, he maintains that the regular methods of negotiations are more than adequate. In fact, without giving any evidence, he maintains settlements without COLA have increased wages at twice the rate as settlements that include COLA.

Is the struggle for COLA government-inspired as Starr slanderously suggests? If so, what is the explanation for the Government's recent intransigence against a COLA for the postal workers?

Does the cost-of-living race ahead of COLA? There is merit to this argument but this situation is not caused by any intrinsic feature of COLA. Rather, this inadequacy is a result of compromises that are often yielded to, thereby acquiescing to the situation until the next round of negotiations.

The key criterion in assessing COLA is not whether it meets every stricture of an ideal COLA contract, but if its essence is to cushion working people from inflation. Corporations don't worry about inflation since they can raise prices at any time. Workers have the distinct disadvantage of not being able to arbitrarily raise their own wages. They need the COLA clause to overcome this lack of flexibility in their wage rates.

Is it true that the regular means of negotiating, which includes large percentage increases, increased standards of living, catching up with higher wage levels in other

Continued on page 6



Dave Barrett

The oil trusts should "get out and get out now", BC NDP Premier Dave Barrett shouted in a rousing address to the Alberta NDP convention.

Referring to the oil moguls as "vultures" and "price-gougers" who were driving up the price of oil for their own profit, he insisted that "we want to be left alone from them."

His sentiments were seconded by major speakers at a Toronto weekend conference on Canadian nationalism. Since the energy industry is demanding such enormous government backing, we should put it under "100 percent public ownership", Max Saltzman, NDP MP urged. The chairman of the Committee for an Independent Canada also favored operating the Syncrude project as a public utility. (See page 5)

Cdn gov'ts capitulating before oil bosses' Syncrude ultimatum

By the Editors

Syncrude Canada Ltd., composed of some of the largest US-based oil monopolies — Imperial Oil, Canada Cities Service, and Gulf Oil — has served notice on the Canadian government and the Canadian people. Unless we come across with a billion dollars of aid for these profit-soaked corporations, the tar sands development will grind to a halt, not to be brought to life again before another 5 years. At the same time these very corporations are telling us that we will run out of conventional gas and oil reserves about 1982.

The pretext for this demand is skyrocketing costs due to inflation and the recent walkout of 30 per cent shareholder Atlantic Richfield from the Syncrude consortium. ARCO walked out, not because of inflated costs, but because of the federal government's stated intent to phase out all oil exports. That means that ARCO, all of whose refineries are in the US, will not get any of the profits

from processed oil products. Ironically, it was the oil companies' forecasts of dwindling supplies that led to the government's decision.

Syncrude has laid down a total of five conditions to be guaranteed by the Canadian government by January 31:

—\$1 billion investment into Syncrude

—no production limits on Syncrude plants when they become operational

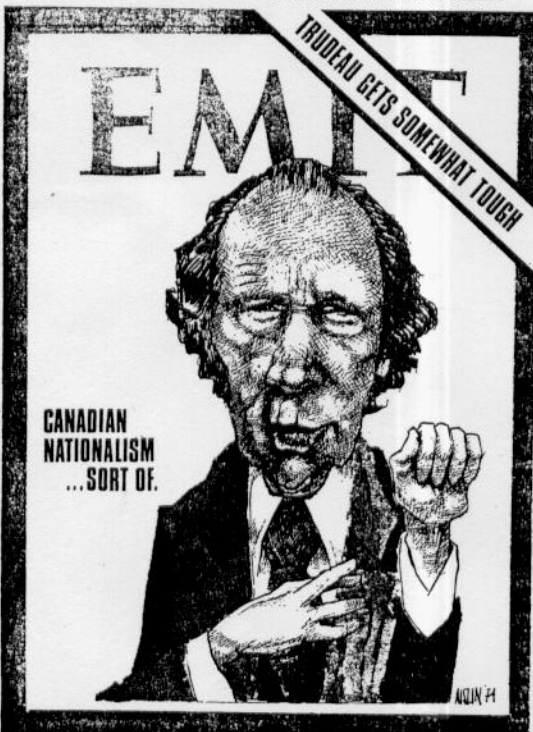
—retail pricing of Syncrude oil at world prices (about double the Canadian price)

—continuation of tax writeoffs for depletion allowances

—elimination of federal tax on royalty deductions from Alberta.

This threat follows the recent ganging up of the oil industry on the Alberta government to force it to reduce its royalties about \$800 — \$900-million. Last December, Financial Post reporter Hort Heise told of how the oil companies "want

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Time Digest: see page 4

In this issue:

Student cutbacks . . . p 2

Int'l Women's Year . . p 2

Mandel on recession . . p 5

NDP federal council takes firm stand on women's rights

by J. Jennings

"... despite the Report on the Status of Women and commitments by politicians, progress toward equality for Canadian women continues to be slow and inadequate, on both the Federal and Provincial levels of government." With this opening, the Federal Council of the NDP has issued a strong "Draft Statement of Women's Rights" which delineates the nature of women's oppression and reaffirms NDP principles and policies.

It defines the role in which women are "usually obliged to find their fulfillment as narrow restricted and onerous." It goes on to explain that "women in the home are isolated . . ." and that the "social responsibilities are heavy." Moreover, "Any attempts they make to expand their activities into outside employment, or further education, are frustrated by the lack of child care facilities, by the criticism heaped on the 'neglectful' mother and by the fact that it costs money to work."

The draft points out that "Women are poor. Many work a lifetime in the home for no pay and, in their old

age, no pension. Many are "on welfare; sixty per cent of those on welfare in Canada are women . . ." Although "one third of Canada's labor force is female . . . women's average wages are less than half of men's. And because women's social function is defined as that of wives and mothers only, they are seen as peripheral . . . form a reserve pool of cheap labor . . ." and are thus used by " . . . employers to black-

→ p. 2

Cdn. workers protest US ban on Cuba trade

When the news broke that Washington had advised Litton Industries of California to instruct its Cole Steel subsidiary in Toronto to cancel a Cuban order for a half million dollar order of office furniture Canadian Trade Minister Alastair Gillespie responded vigorously. It is "an intolerable interference in Canadian affairs," he declared, and a "case of commercial colonialism."

The Litton scandal was followed up a few days later over the New Year, by a revelation that International Business Machine officials had discouraged their Toronto branch plant from selling over 2 million dollars worth of typewriter equipment to the Cuban government. Then, after admitting that he had received no reply from his protest note to Washington — his government had taken no action of its own with the authority at its disposal — the Liberal Minister told the press that he did not expect any quick resolution. "There are discussions going on, and I don't think it would be in the public interest to say more."

The inaction by the Canadian government and the silence of Washington continues. On January 24 External Affairs Minister Allan MacEachie told a press conference in Winnipeg that he is planning meetings with US government officials to seek an end to US interference in Canadian trade, that he had expressed his displeasure to the US Ambassador, but no date has been set for such meetings.

While he talked of a bill that would give a Canadian government tribunal the power to order a US-owned company in Canada to ignore a US law, he

Continued on page 2

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mail male employees into accepting poor wages ..."

"Women are heavily represented in all the occupations which are the worst-paid, the most menial and boring, and in which working conditions are the most miserable." And "... in the fields numerically dominated by women, men hold top jobs and top salaries. Women face all the problems of men workers in the existing system; and women face specific and particular forms of suffering simply because they are women."

After making the point that "our school system enforces society's discriminatory attitudes towards women and trains women to accept second-rate status," the draft states that "Womens liberation is not created by a stroke of the pen. It is a movement that necessarily arises out of conditions created by society, and the efforts to change those conditions must take form and grow within the existing system ..." The Federal council of the NDP "... fully supports the movement for the liberation of women in our society ... (and) reaffirms the following principles and policies: —"

The list that follows contains a full range of demands for womens rights. It starts off with comprehensive laws against all discrimination in employment and calls for free, community controlled 24 hour day care. It calls for collective bargaining rights and fringe benefits for domestic and part time workers. It calls for "... amendment of pension laws to give all women, including those who work at home, the same rights ... as

continued on page 3

NDP council on women's rights

Continued from page 1
enjoyed by men."

Turning to education the statement endorses "... comprehensive sex education ... guarantees that male and female students are equally entitled to enrol in any course ... elimination of sex stereotyping in all text books" and then broadens its scope to include "action to ban advertising which exploits sex and demeans the role and place of women in society."

The demand to take abortion out of the criminal code is reaffirmed and the draft calls for the "... establishment of sex education and birth control centres ..."

Reflecting the resentment of NDP women to the foot dragging of provincial NDP governments, the statement concludes with the following:

"The above proposals are essential steps in removing the oppression and inequalities from which women suffer. The Party in its internal workings shall set the example through the encouragement and development of women in the Party at all levels. The Federal Council therefore urges every section of our party to implement these policies, particularly provincial NDP Governments because they are in a position to lead the way."

Writers see Cdn role in Brazil as 'sub-imperial'

The January-February issue of the widely circulated *This Magazine* contains an important contribution to the debate on the nature of Canada and its role in the world political arena. The occasion is a lead article on Brazil and the role of corporations there such as Brascan and Alcan, often cited as Canadian owned and prime examples of Canadian imperialism.

After demonstrating the dominating presence of American imperialism, the authors ask "how should one define these countries which play the roles of both imperialized and imperialist dependent capitalist nations on the world scene... how should one characterize the role (so well exemplified in Brazil) of the Canadian state and Canadian based corporations (Falconbridge, Alcan. Inco, Brascan, etc.) as sophisticated tools integrated into and used by, the American imperialist system?"

The authors suggest that the term "sub imperial power" can

be applied to Canada which they see as "not only a hewer of wood for the United States but also... as a middle-sized intermediary state which acts to expand and protect US interests beyond our national boundaries."

"Canadian sub-imperialism, lacking the military strength of America and Brazil... acts through its extensive investments in both Latin America and the Caribbean, laundering American capital through Canadian-based multinational corporations". They point out that "by welcoming Canadian capital as if it is very different from American capital, Latin American nations become victims of covert mechanisms which camouflage US control of the major Canadian multinationals."

The authors are Jamie Swift of the Development Education Center, and Tim Drainin of the Latin American Working Group of Toronto. *This Magazine* can be obtained for \$1 from 56 Esplanade Street East, 4th Fl., Toronto.

NDP governments face assault of Ottawa and big business magnates

By John Morgan

New Democratic Party governments in Saskatchewan, Manitoba and BC, in their attempts to finance new social services from the enormous profits of resource industries, have met increasing attacks not only from the oil and mining corporations but also the federal government. The three labor governments have introduced legislation which raises royalties,

increases, the industry has gone on strike against mere profit "crumbs".

Anaconda Mines of New York closed its copper mine and destroyed a town of 600. Meanwhile, 18 BC mining companies have launched court action against the act and are seeking an injunction to prevent the tax from being collected.

In Manitoba, the government was

tax on windfall profits, the oil barons took him to court warning he would "kill the goose that lays the golden egg" with his ultra vires legislation.

The business interests have been relying on the federal government to pluck a few feathers from the goose by disallowing provincial royalty payments as a challenge to federal tax laws. Ottawa has also warned that new taxes would apply to crown corporations. The intent of this was made clear by Finance Minister Turner: "Any provincial government which uses this budget (which levied the new taxes) to nationalize an industry better think about it very carefully."

In other sectors of the economy, the NDP governments are equally under attack. Layoffs in the BC forest industry are worse than even the auto industry, despite a growing housing shortage. Giant Macmillan Bloedel is holding out for higher stumpage fees.

BC landlords have also struck against 8-10 per cent rent increase controls, declared no vacancies and refused to pay hydro bills. Developers have refused to build the 10,000 new units recommended by CMHC, claiming it is "politically risky".

There is only one answer for the NDP governments against this concerted program of blackmail and sabotage of NDP governments' laws. The capitalists have gone on strike against the attempts of labor governments to regulate them or control their taxes. The attempts to work out a "mixed economy" cannot give the working people control over their destiny. Only a program of nationalization can guarantee that the votes of workers and farmers in three provinces are not scorned by the giant monopolies.



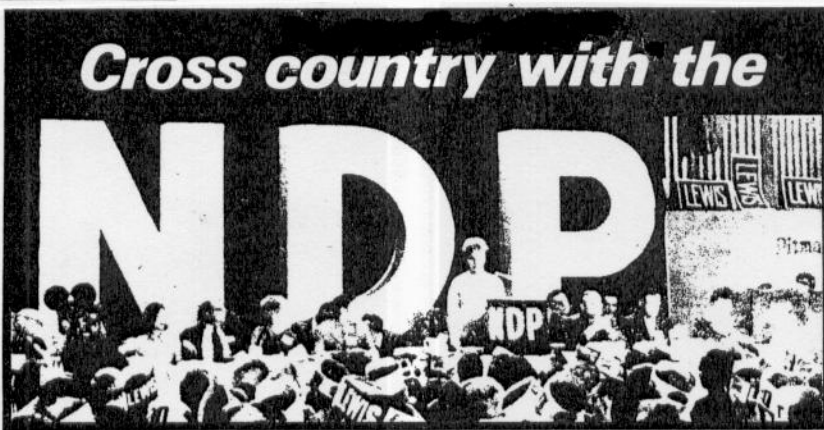
BC landlords go on strike against government

heavily taxes windfall profits, and attempts to control prices and the exploitation rate of resources. The response of the corporations — the majority of them American-owned — has been to close down or cut back their operations, posing the challenge that the NDP nationalize them more sharply than ever.

In the resource sector, the business magnates are resorting to outright blackmail. Protesting the BC super royalty tax which gives the government 50 per cent of windfall profits from dramatic ore price

pressured to drop its 1963 tax because of threats from the mining companies. New regulations which offer "up to 50 per cent" government participation in exploration have been promptly rejected by Falconbridge, whose general manager has threatened to pull the company out of Manitoba.

In Saskatchewan the giant potash industry has cut back expansion "pending clarification of the tax situation". When premier Blakeney declared "the oilmen are rich enough" and imposed a 100 per cent



By Wayne Roberts

Sask power strike

The Saskatchewan Federation of Labor has lashed out at the Saskatchewan NDP government's first special strikebreaking legislation against 1100 striking power workers out for wage parity with Alberta workers and a 36 hour week. In a release supported by the power union's leaders, they complained that after years of campaigning against government intervention in strikes, "now at the first sign of a strike the NDP is falling all over themselves to use that axe".

When the workers returned to the job before the legislation went into effect, the hypocritical Liberals took the opportunity to oppose the bill as infringing on the rights of free

collective bargaining! Previously they and the independent socialist member, J. Richards, had supported the bill.

The best rebuke to the actions of the NDP government comes from their own record and the position of the party. Only a month after coming to power, they repealed the Liberals' Bill 2 which had been used to break strikes of superexploited hospital workers and other "essential services" workers.

"A lot of us in Government were disappointed that the collective bargaining process broke down in this case", Deputy Minister Romanow admitted. There is room for more that disappointment here. The government's action must be roundly repudiated.

St. Kits activists

The St. Catharines' NDP riding association has adopted the practice of passing resolutions on concerns of riding members and their community at almost every riding meeting.

The Niagara region is currently subject to a campaign by local "Right to Lifers" who are trying to pressure hospital boards to cut back abortions. In essence this campaign emanates from the offices of Federal Minister Lang and his campaign of intimidation to roll back the limited concessions of the 1969 act. The riding appropriately

passed a resolution calling for the resignation of Lang, an end to his blackmailing policies toward abortion committees and the removal of abortion from the criminal code.

Brock University in St. Catharines is currently reacting strongly to government cutbacks. The riding passed a motion in support of the Jan. 28th Moratorium and sent speakers to express solidarity.

This is the way that NDP riding associations can grow, acquire roots in the community and attract activists.

Funds for NDP women

One of the highlights of the December Ontario provincial council meeting was the presentation and discussions sponsored by

the provincial committee on women's issues. This committee, formed last year after a conference at Bolton, is still feeling its way



Wayne Roberts

toward defining its role. Is it a group to increase participation of women in the party? Is it a liaison with other women's groups? Is it an action group? Does it try to push women's issues during elections?

The major complaint of the women attending the meeting was that the committee couldn't function. The committee is seen merely as a subcommittee of the executive and has no autonomy or funds. It can't even afford a newsletter!

Nevertheless, the committee has already initiated plans for a demonstration on International Women's Day. They are also con-

sidering demanding that a woman NDPer introduce the British Labor Party speaker at the male preserve of the Empire Club.

Dusty Miller, NDP alderwoman from Thunder Bay, is trying to pass a resolution calling for \$5000 for the women's committee and is also thinking in terms of a woman's organizer. In this International Woman's Year and in a year when the federal convention is slating a half-day's discussion on women's issues, surely this is a minimal prerequisite for the NDP to seriously begin to identify with, learn from and help lead the growing women's movement.

Federal leadership

The sudden void caused by Broadbent's firm declaration that he will not run for the federal leadership of the NDP has left the race for leadership "wide open".

A whole spate of MP's, MLA's and individuals are now sending out feelers to test their support. They range from ex-MP and ex-leadership candidate John Harney to Manitoba Premier Schreyer to BC MLA Rosemary Brown and a host of others.

The NDP brass expect to escape a basic polarization in the party such as was afforded by the last

appeal across the political spectrum. Ex-Liberal cabinet minister Kierans was being actively considered. Broadbent insisted that the candidate must be a party member and support basic party positions.

This would also rule out MP Max Saltzman who hopes to "do better going after the Tory votes". Saltzman favors wage and price controls and opposes guaranteed income. Both of these positions are flagrant violations of party policy.

One of the delegates to the meeting where Broadbent announced his resignation offered



Newly elected leadership takes oath at National Farmers Union Convention in December. Convention called for nationalization of land and energy resource industry as only way to protect resources from multinational corporations. They also favor nationalisation of all railways and transportation.

leadership race between Lewis and Laxer. In the absence of such a polarization, (or rather clarification of issues) there is a danger that the race will degenerate into hoopla and confusion.

Broadbent has issued a statement that should set at least minimal guidelines for the race. Some of the NDP brass hope to field a "charismatic" candidate with

another consideration. The pressure on the NDP has been to offer policies which improve the present system instead of challenging it. "But now a lot more people are considering major changes. The corporate rip-off is no longer just a slogan. Many people believe it."

The leadership race should begin to grapple with some of these basic problems now before the NDP.

International Women's Year

The challenge for women

By Ellie Kirzner

Capturing the spirit of the Liberal government's feelings towards International Women's Year, Trudeau answered the complaints of two women about the WHY NOT slogan with a biting retort: "That's the trouble with ladies, they bitch after the fact."

Such flippant disdain can only be matched by the decision to place the IWY festivities under the direction of none other than Marc Lalonde, the infamous Minister of Health and Welfare who refuses financial support to groups involved in abortion counselling and who reportedly "shudders" at the very word.

With five million dollars sunk into the IWY 'raz-ma-taz', the government is hoping that lavish flattery will buy some long-desired silence from the incessant demands of women activists.

The trouble for the government is that you can't fool all the women all the time. In fact, a lot of them are downright unimpressed. Doris Anderson, editor of *Chatelaine* likened the government's celebration to "Mother's Day or Boy Scout's Apple Day" and Laura Sabia, chairwoman of the Ontario Status of Women Council quipped that it was looking a lot like "International Hypocrisy Year." Even Ed Broadbent, NDP parliamentary leader, refused to wear a WHY NOT button, sporting instead one reading: "Otto Lang is two four-letter words".

It just might be that the government has created a Frankenstein out of its IWY festivities, for there are going to be thousands of women who are going to read the WHY NOT ads in a way they were not meant. When the government says IWY is "not a slogan, it's an attitude," they mean that if we renovate our self-definitions and think confidently, nothing is "beyond us." But a lot of women are going to interpret WHY NOT as an invitation to discover exactly why they have been excluded from so much and are not going to avoid the interesting

revelation that it is government policy and not their own psychological perspectives that are burdening them.

IWY is an "attitude that says no one will ever again deny you an opportunity just because you're a woman. That no one will ever pay you less money than a man when you perform the same job as a man", luxuriates one government ad. It turns out however, that it really doesn't matter what your attitude is. All levels of government in Canada wink an eye at employers who violate equal pay laws. As the first big present for IWY, women civil service workers in Ontario had a settlement imposed upon them by the provincial government which had structured within it clever pay discrepancies based on fictitious distinctions between barbers and hairdressers, seamstresses and tailors, etc. A five million dollar tribute to women begins to look pretty paltry beside the estimated one billion dollars that Ontario women alone are being robbed of by discriminatory wage practices.

While on the broad scale the WHY NOT campaign may be said to be contributing to a redefinition of women, (Most Parents Don't Encourage Their Daughters to Become Doctors, Lawyers, Politicians, WHY NOT?) with the refusal of the government to implement policies that would allow women to change their lives, we will be left in 1976 with catchy full page ads for our files and not much else. It's hard for example, for most women to consider becoming doctors and lawyers, when mothers of an estimated 600,000 are desperately in need of child care services.

In one illustrious ad, the government tells us to "remind ourselves that this is 1975 and not 1875." One might just as well remind the government that in 1875 women received no recompense for their long hours of toil in household management and a hundred years hasn't changed it. Even the UN has declared itself in favour of payment

for housework, but the "modern" Canadian government hasn't even managed a pension for houseworkers.

"We have the right to fill whatever role in life we choose," says the advertisement of a sanctimonious government which through its Justice Minister Otto Lang, is attempting a general repression on these meagre abortion facilities that presently exist. At the same time that abortion has been removed from the criminal codes of the US, France, Germany and Austria, Lang is threatening therapeutic abortion hospital committees with



Japanese housewives protest high cost of food.

prosecution for granting abortions for "purely social or economic reasons." In the wake of Lang's menacing, the demand for his resignation has emerged from several sources among them, Judy La Marsh and Bette Stephenson of the Canadian Medical Association. When it is considered that out of 1,359 hospitals in Canada, only 259 have abortion committees; that 60 per cent of major hospitals responding to a Hospital Association

p.2

Journal questionnaire had no birth control services; and that Dr. Henry Morgentaler faces years in prison for performing safe abortions, we can only conclude that the abortion question is the most hideous of the blotches on the Liberal government's IWY celebrations.

It looks very much as if the government is going to rue the day it told women that nothing will change "until we demand it", for all indications point to a year of great activity. Numerous conferences and festivals are already underway, from a conference on legal discrimination of women to be held in Winnipeg, to a Women in the Arts festival in Toronto, to a celebration-of-women day in Hamilton.

While the year promises to gather into the feminist milieu over widening layers of women, the general excitement of meetings and conferences should not obscure for us the importance of two areas of strategic importance to the women's movement.

In the first place, IWY is being constructed in Canada by a government beholden to corporate interests, a fact which makes it centrally important that the trade union movement take it upon itself to seize the time and interpret the tribute to women in its own way. Demonstrating the possibilities, the Canadian Union of Public Employees has announced a program of workshops and education in order to develop among women a consciousness of their status both within the union and at the place of work. It is to be hoped that other unions would imitate the same types of programs, culminating in a major conference of working women organized to fight the many dimensions of their particular exploitation in the workforce.

Secondly, the movement for the right to abortion emerges as a parallel phenomenon to the suffrage struggle at the turn of the century. Even though unequal pay for more than equal work, and lack of day care existed simultaneously with the denial of women's human rights as voters, it was the fight for the vote which provided the most vigorous contestation between the emerging women's movement and the forces of government and the status quo.

Similarly in the 70's of Canada, the lines are sharply drawn by a government which has forcefully served notice that the only move it is making with respect to abortion, is backwards. Such adamance, feeding the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy and its many reactionary friends, has generated a veritable

war between the powerfully organized right of life groups, and pro-repeal forces on the crucial question of a woman's right to choose. The right to abortion has become the front line of attack for those actively resisting the modern women's rights movement.

And at the centre of the turmoil is Dr. Morgentaler's case, now before the Supreme Court. No matter which way the decision goes, the abortion movement is going to have to revitalize, for as recent events in the US have ably demonstrated, a Supreme Court decision in favor of the right to abortion waves a red flag in the face of the "Right to Life," spurring them in new efforts to undermine the effects of the verdict.

Able to span the various milieux in which women are to be found, the abortion issue is to be viewed, not as a drain on the activities of women's groups but as a complementary

"A lot of women are going to interpret WHY NOT as an invitation to discover exactly why they have been excluded from so much and are not going to avoid the interesting revelation that it is government policy and not their own psychological perspectives that are burdening them."

dimension to the other struggles in which we are going to participate, and one which focuses our struggle against the main agent of women's oppression, the government.

42,000 women so far have written to Ottawa requesting WHY NOT buttons. International Women's Year may very well come to haunt those who thought they could corral a powerful sentiment with a jingle. This may be the year when women come to answer the question WHY NOT.

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talking it over :

New union shop

By Pat Schulz

Ever try going to an apartment building looking for Joan — no last name, no apartment number — but you've been told she's slim and blonde with her hair parted in the middle? A friend and I went out on this wild goose chase a couple of weeks ago.

A friend of ours, Fred, is organizing for a union whose jurisdiction includes a lot of shops in which women work. Many of them are recent immigrants and the union tries to get people who speak their language to go out and see them. The male organizer has some difficulty visiting women in their homes, since they don't like inviting in some strange guy they've never met before, and so Linda and I are handling the English speaking women.

The whole technique for organizing surprised us. Obviously the boss of a shop you're trying to organize doesn't hand out lists of employees with addresses and phone numbers so Fred, as the union's business agent, spent several months following cars and tracking down registrations in order to get names and addresses. In Joan's case, all he'd been able to get was her first name and the building.

She works in a small shop — 21 employees — all but one, women. Some Greeks and Pakistanis. One black woman. Many from the Maritimes. Most very young; for some, their first job.

A married couple run the business — they started with one sewing machine several years ago and have done well for themselves. The husband doesn't do much — he sits in the office playing with an adding machine, drinking a little and occasionally emerging to peer over the workers' shoulders. Meanwhile his wife's in there hustling. Pitches in when the work piles up — checks through the garbage periodically to make sure they haven't wasted any leather — yells a lot. When the question of a raise or a union comes up she reminds them she has three kids to support. Still, she manages to dress very expensively and to take frequent jaunts to her native home in Europe.

We found Joan at the second door. She invited us in right away — handed the baby to her husband while we sat down at the kitchen table to talk. She had some questions about job categories, holiday pay and overtime rates, and then she signed. Then we talked about some of the other workers in the shop and what she'd do if her mother-in-law wasn't able to look after the baby any longer while Joan worked. A good strong person.

Only one other woman of the eight we saw was prepared to sign so quickly. First they wanted to know what the union would get them. They assumed that if you signed the card and the union got in you would get certain benefits. Of course getting a

union doesn't guarantee anything — just that you have some protection and if the workers hang in there together and are really prepared to fight, they can make some gains. But it requires meetings and convincing other workers and arguing with the boss.

The other problem in signing up these women was the lack of communication within the shop. Partly because the boss cautions them not to reveal their pay to each other, partly because of language difficulties, they don't know each other very well. So scarcely anyone would admit she had signed.

Then when Fred, the union business agent, put in the application for certification and the boss tried to intimidate them, fear of losing their jobs really became a major obstacle.

The wife of the boss got together a meeting of the workers in the shop on their coffee break, and gave them a cock and bull story. "I'll close down the plant if the union comes in. The union will never get you more than \$2.75 an hour. We're like a happy family here. If you make a mistake like that after the union is here, I'll call the union rep in and he'll fire you". Getting signatures was more difficult after that.

Despite this intimidation, we finally won the battle to establish a union shop. The fact that we were talking to women made some differences. Most of the workers, interestingly enough, didn't join for financial reasons — they joined because they didn't like being pushed around.

That's a good start. Most of them knew very little about unions, but that's understandable. Some of them already have gone from signing to going into the shop and arguing with the other women for the union. Four of them came to the Labour Board hearing to testify to the intimidation.

Just getting the union in is a real victory for them — they took a stand, fought for it and won. One of them kept saying at the Labour Board hearing, "I'm dying to see her faced when she sees us here — she never believed we'd testify against her".

There's a big story in this little shop. It tells a lot about the development of workers and the "liberation" of women — in the best sense of the word.



The following is the founding statement of the recently formed Alliance of Non-Zionist Jews. The aim of this committee, based in Toronto, is to promote a discussion of alternatives to Zionism within the Jewish community. Already, the committee has had an impact in Canada and has begun to establish international connections. Its statement has been reprinted by Excalibur (York University student paper), Student (the paper of the Ukrainian Student Association) and The Source (a Canadian Palestinian newspaper). The Alliance is an open membership committee.

Forward is pleased to reprint this statement as information to our readers. —The editors

The central historic claim made by the Zionist movement since its inception until this very day is that the creation of the Jewish State in Palestine, would provide the only solution to the Jewish Question. Moreover, the left wing of the Zionist movement claimed that the implementation of the Zionist enterprise could lead to the social emancipation of the Jewish workers and farmers, both those in existence and those who would emerge through the creation of the state.

Largely on the basis of these claims, the Zionist movement came to command the allegiance and active support of millions of well-meaning humanitarians, liberals and social democrats, both Jews and non-Jews, throughout the world. The Zionist enterprise has also during its history gained the active support of many powerful institutions, governments, and states which commanded the concrete power to insure the establishment of Israel. In fact, without the support of these, the Zionist enterprise would have remained no more than a utopian fantasy.

Until the holocaust, Zionism had little basis to claim any kind of substantial support among the world-dispersed Jewish population. The historically unparalleled, systematic attempt to physically annihilate the European Jewish population during the Second World War was decisive in their stampede towards Zionism, even though the Zionist leadership refused to fight to open (to Jewish refugees) the doors of even one country—except for Palestine.

In actuality this compliance with the anti-Semitic closed-door policy of Canada, of the US, and of Britain was the logic of their sectarian loyalty to Zionism and so their programme could not serve the life and death needs of the Jewish people.

The establishment of the state of

New Committee formed

Jews challenge Zionism

Israel, and the worldwide activities of Zionist institutions and organizations have only now reached a high level of material power and historical maturity. The time has clearly come to subject these "achievements" to the test of critical analysis and evaluation, from the perspective of those deeply concerned with the liberation and social emancipation of the Jewish people, in particular, and with social progress in general.

It is evident to us that not only has the Zionist movement failed to advance the social goals it claims for its objectives, but moreover its practical effect has been to thwart them. Rather than providing a haven for Jews in Palestine, the Zionist movement has created a historic trap for the Jewish people. The Israeli state now faces a perspective of continued war with peoples increasingly unified and organized, with mounting support throughout the world. The consequences can only be a tragedy, a tragedy which may likely involve the mutual use of tactical nuclear weapons.

What twist of logic considers that the solution to the Jewish question could be realized by the record of the Israeli state? That is:

1. The Israeli leaders have turned their state into a military fortress at war with all the nations surrounding it.

2. The material costs of Israel's war policy have been increasingly loaded onto the backs of Israeli workers (through an inflation rate of about 35 per cent and the mid 1974 devaluation of 43 per cent which has resulted in the current crises) while at the same time a new generation of millionaires has risen to prominence and political power.

3. Israel's "black-skinned" Jews are suffering from oppression and misery in the white dominated social structure.

4. Despite Israel's claim to be democratic, it still has in force a series of emergency regulations imposed in its time by British imperialism and characterized by Zionist leaders at the time as "fascist laws".

5. The Israeli state, since its inception, has been allied with the most reactionary forces on a world scale.

(The Zionist Organization of America can quite correctly state in its open letter to Nixon published in the July 30, 1974 New York Times that, "A secure and strong Israel is vital to our country's global interests.

Your administration, Mr. President, has consistently recognized this to be true... What was true before October, 1973, remains true today, Israel still remains the only reliable friend and ally of our country in the Middle East. The de facto alliance between the United States and Israel remains the firm bedrock of our position in the Eastern Mediterranean.")

6. Israel was and remains a militant supporter of US imperialism in South-east Asia and was among the first to extend diplomatic

recognition to the brutal military dictatorship of Chile.

For the past period, all Jews have been identified with the Israeli state simply because they were Jews. In fact, a Jew who did not identify with the interests of the Israeli state was considered to be a self-hater. We reject the slander of the Zionist establishment which equates critics of

→ p. 2

p.2

Zionism with anti-Semites. We consider the fight against anti-Semitism not to be identical with Zionism. By reducing the role of Jews in the diaspora to that of surrogate gates for Israel and as such scurrying to cultivate friends in high places, Zionism cuts across the perspective and desire of Jews to combat anti-Semitism in their countries of residence. The present predominance of Zionist thought among Jews is a substitute for the recognition of this necessity and in fact Zionism can be seen as an escapist diversion from fighting

the belief, in Zionist ideology, that all non-Jews are conscious or potential anti-Semites. Thus any solution to the Middle-East crisis that rejects the view that non-Jews are inevitably anti-Semitic but accepts them as potential allies in our struggle against anti-Semitism is labelled as being a rejection of Jewishness. As a consequence of this sectarian attitude towards non-Jews, Zionism removes the need to consider the national rights of the Palestinians and in fact engenders a racist attitude towards Palestinians and Arabs in general. While seeking a path to Jewish self-determination, Zionists have denied that very same right to the Palestinians. In place of the "law of return" for every Jew, we would rather seek a solution for Palestinian self-determination and therefore a solution to the continual war in the Middle-East by supporting the "right to return" for every Palestinian instead.

It is for the purpose of further discussing these evaluations among ourselves and in the community that the endorsers have come together. Although we may not have all the same evaluations as contained in this entire statement, we do agree on the general approach to the questions involved. We are all Jews and non-Zionists who generally approach these questions from the point of view of those within the labor and progressive movements and the intellectual milieu. We include among us participants in a broad range of social struggles, and so we all bring to these particular concerns a deep and abiding interest in human progress and social justice.

Therefore, we are announcing the formation of a public committee whose task will be to bring this crucial discussion to a public platform. Whereas in the past, discussion in Canada of the theory and reality of Zionism has been overwhelmingly weighted in favor of Zionism, the developing contradictions of that point of view and the Mid-east situation, especially after the October War, are demanding and producing critical re-evaluation of the propositions that underlie the status quo. We intend to assist in that process of political clarification and to express a non-Zionist opposition to the policies and missions of the Zionist enterprise.

We urge you to participate with us in this task.

...In order to become a member contact Abie Weisfeld, York University, c.o. C.Y.S.F. Office, 4700 Keele Street, Downsview, Ontario.

Zionist Gov't harasses Israeli militant civil rights leader

Dr. Israel Shahak, professor of chemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights is now facing an unprecedented campaign of the Israeli press to malign his views and urge his firing from the University. His

defender of human rights. His outspoken support for the right of the Palestinians, his forceful refusal to countenance the hypocrisy of the Israeli Government have won him such accusations as "slanderer", "poisoner of the wells of peace", etc.

In answer to this hysterical campaign, Shahak presented an article to Haaretz, Israel's leading daily. "People who were born and lived most of their life in Jerusalem are not allowed to settle in their own city, if they are not Jews", he wrote. "Of course, if a Dutchman converts to Judaism tomorrow... he will not only be allowed to do so at once, he will get an apartment in Ramat-Eshkol (all-Jewish suburb of Jerusalem built on Arab land conquered in 1967)."

Haaretz however has refused to print anything by Shahak. Israeli

A public statement in support of Shahak's civil liberties has been made by eight professors at the Hebrew University and the student newspaper has issued an editorial in support of Shahak's rights.

anti-Semitism as shown by the fact that Israel's ally, ex-president Nixon, turns out to be an overt anti-Semite (as revealed in the Nixon tapes) and America's highest ranking military officer, General George Brown publicly affirmed anti-Semitism recently.

The reason that critical Jews are considered self-haters is based upon



Palestinian refugee camp

crime — concern with the plight of Palestinians, on whose behalf he appeared as a speaker on the Palestinian issue in Amsterdam, in Amsterdam.

Dr. Shahak came to Palestine in 1945 as a refugee from the Nazi concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen. Since then, he has gained international repute as a

Law Union activists speak

By Harry Kopyto

The January 24th Forward Forum featured five radical lawyers and law students speaking on "Citizens vs. the Law".

The panelists are all members of the LAW UNION, an Ontario-wide association of radical lawyers, law students and legal secretaries which was reborn in 1974 after a period of dormancy lasting two years.

With a regular newsletter, over a dozen collectives working on a variety of issues and more than 160 members, the LAW UNION is a good example of the impact of the student radicalization on the legal profession. 300 people attended a September conference of the LAW UNION where many problems of radical lawyers were discussed including "How can one be a lawyer

at Forward Forum

and a revolutionary?"

This question emerged as a serious question at the forum discussion, which featured presentations on women and law, the education of lawyers and police brutality. The speakers, especially those from the women's collective, after describing how the law and the legal system discriminates against women, the poor, and workers, expressed frustration at the difficulties involved in working within the system but against it at the same time.

In response to a question from the audience, most of the panelists agreed on the need to change society

fundamentally. "Most of the women in our women's caucus call themselves socialists" panelist Barbara Jackman commented, (although progressives are welcome as well.)

Panelist David Cole surprised the audience by appealing for compassion for the poor overworked policeman who has to work shifts and confront danger all the time. In the lively discussion that followed, it was pointed out that while individual policeman's jobs may be hard, as a group police and police brutality in particular function as part of the repressive apparatus of the state, breaking strikes, oppressing minorities, etc.

S.L. holds classes on Marxism, Life and Culture

By Wayne Roberts

The Socialist League has announced a series of classes on "the Marxist view of life and culture".

The February series includes talks on Marxism and the law, Marxism and psychology, Marxism and science and a Marxist view of alienation and socialist humankind.

Given by people well-versed in these topics and professions, the class series hopes to stimulate and clarify thought on these key areas of socialist analysis. The degradation of capitalism extends beyond famines and oppression. It also degrades human relations and thought.

Likewise, socialists have the responsibility to generalise their critique of capitalist domination to all areas of life and begin to think of the responsibilities of Marxists in these areas and the possibilities of socialism in the transformation of human possibilities in all areas of life.

The series will take place Friday nights at 8 p.m. at 85 King St. E. Further information can be obtained by telephoning 363-6755.

Now time to Forward renewals

by Margaret Smith,
Forward business manager

Forward is published regularly but we are certainly not "established". We have no large advertising accounts and are not underwritten by any part of the establishment. We rely on our circulation — our readers — and the volunteers of our staff to keep publishing.

This sixth issue is important because, for those of you who took out a trial sub with issue one number one, this is your last copy. You, and we, need your renewal.

Since that first issue, many have read our paper and subscribed. We have followed a policy of distributing it at all important, political events that we have had the forces to cover. We have faith in our paper and the ideas it expresses. The returns have been very heartening but you should know that a paper like ours needs a large sub base.

We publish a socialist view of labor struggles, the rising cost of living, and international events. We have had articles on Chile, Cyprus, England, Women's Rights, Dr. Morgentaler and the need for abortion law repeal. Our coverage has ranged from the struggles of Canada's Native Peoples to the persecution of Soviet dissidents. We have had features on pioneer Canadian socialist Maurice Spector, the growth and problems of the Waffle, Canada's branch plant imperialism, and the Quebec Language Bill. We've tried to report all the major events affecting the NDP.

Everyone tends to be unpaid — writers, distributors and office staff — except the printers and the Post Office! Their services come C.O.D.! To grow we need paid subscriptions and regular renewals.

Renew now and read our coverage of the next Ontario provincial election, the federal NDP convention, International Women's Year, as they unfold; and enjoy our letters column — write for it if you wish to become involved. Six issues are priced at one dollar, or multiples thereof. Subscribe for as long as you like — then we can all stop worrying about whether you miss an issue.

FREE ALL WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS

The Action Group for Women's Rights in the U.S.S.R. was formed in January of 1975 in Toronto. We are a group of women and men who base our action on a defense of civil rights. As supporters of the women's struggle, we decided to focus our attention on the role of women in the U.S.S.R. We feel that it is particularly important to address ourselves to this question because of the flagrant violation of democratic and civil rights in this so called "socialist country". We support the progressive dissident movement in the Soviet Union.

Presently we are involved in a defense campaign for five Soviet Ukrainian women political prisoners. The defense of these women whose basic civil liberties have been denied by the Soviet bureaucracy, lies the generalized defense of all women in the Soviet Union and in the world.

These women were active in defense of political prisoners in the U.S.S.R. in the late sixties and early seventies. They signed various petitions and letters to Soviet authorities protesting the illegality of political arrests and trials, basing their defense on the Soviet constitution. They were arrested in 1972, interrogated over a period of one year and tried "in camera" under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. Presently they are serving their sentences in a hard labour camp in Mordovian ASSR.

In the latest issue of the Chronicle of Current Events (Russian samizdat literature) to reach the west, the following was reported: NADIA SVITLYCHNA, IRYNA STASIV-KALYNETS, NINA STROKATA, AND STEFANIA SHABATURA, FOUR SOVIET WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS, MADE AN APPEAL TO CAMP AUTHORITIES OF LABOUR CAMP #3 IN BARASHEVO, MORDOVIAN ASSR, PROPOSING THAT THEIR WAGES AT THE HARD LABOUR CAMPS BE ASSIGNED TO A FUND FOR VICTIMS OF THE CHILEAN JUNTA. THEY ALSO DEMANDED THAT A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS BE ALLOWED TO ATTEND THE CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION OF WOMEN. BOTH DEMANDS WERE DENIED BY CAMP AUTHORITIES.

In the fall of 1973, they appealed to the Secretary General of the United Nations asking for "a real, just and open trial with the mandatory participation of a representative of the United Nations". Later in the same year, they led a hunger strike at the camp demanding competent health care and the right for creative expression at the camp.



Since the military junta overthrew the democratically elected Allende government, the dictatorship has arrested, tortured and killed thousands of Chilean political prisoners. Throughout the world, campaigns have been initiated for the defense of these victims of oppression. The Communist Party has taken an active part in these actions.

Yet the Communist Party has been inconsistent in its position with respect to political prisoners in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It denies their very existence! Numerous political prisoners in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have aligned themselves with the defense of the victims of the Chilean junta. In 1974, a group of Czechoslovak political prisoners sent a letter in support of Chilean political prisoners and challenged the right of the Communist Party to support them, since it is responsible for the imprisonment of political prisoners in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Later that same year, a group of political prisoners in the USSR of various nationalities stated their support for Chilean political prisoners.

The appeal by the four Soviet Ukrainian women political prisoners to support the victims of the Chilean junta, is the latest expression of support from those imprisoned in the so called "socialist countries".

Today we join with others in support of the women's struggle and appeal to you who support democratic and civil rights to:

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF SOVIET WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF CHILEAN WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS

DEMAND THE RELEASE OF ALL WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Action for Women's Rights in the USSR
2200 Yonge Street
Suite 1701
Toronto, Ontario

Heroic Soviet women prisoners

A committee has been formed to defend five women Ukrainian prisoners whose rights under the Soviet constitution have been violated. All five have been active in the movement against Russification of the Ukraine and for freedom of expression. They all face sentences of four to six years of hard labor. Most of them have to endure this in conditions of already-weakened health.

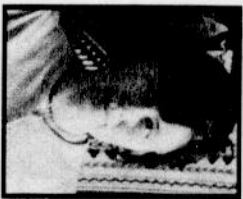
It is reported in the September, 1974 Chronicle of Current Events that these heroic women have demanded that their prison wages be sent to aid victims of the Chilean junta.

"In the spirit of International Women's Year," the committee has asked that the issue of freedom for all women political prisoners be raised at all I.W.Y. events.

For further information, contact:

Action for Women's Rights
in the USSR,
2200 Yonge Street
Suite 1701
Toronto
tel. (416) 487-1211

Forward, March 1975



Stefania Shabatura

Stefania Shabatura was born in the city of Lviv in 1938, and worked there as an artist. In December 1971, she gained extensive acclaim in Kiev for her tapestries at the Republican Fair and Exhibition. Both the Soviet Ukrainian press and volume six of the History of Ukrainian Art have praised her work.

In 1970, she was among those who protested the illegal arrest of Valentyn Moroz. Two years later, in July 1972, at a closed trial Stefania Shabatura was sentenced to five years imprisonment and three years exile under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. It was at this trial that the presiding prosecutor suggested that her father's desertion from the Red Army influenced her world outlook. She was incarcerated in labour camp # 3 in the Mordovia A.S.S.R. Along with five fellow prisoners Stefania sent a letter of protest to the Secretary General of the United Nations demanding an open trial in the presence of a United Nations representative.

On December 5, 1973, Stefania Shabatura participated in a hunger strike and recent reports claim that her physical condition is rapidly deteriorating.



Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets

Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets was born in 1940 in Western Ukraine. She received her degree from Lviv University and became a teacher in a secondary school. From there she went on to lecture in Ukrainian language and literature at the Lviv Polytechnic Institute. She is the author of many poems for children published in the regional (oblast) and republican periodicals. Her works have recently been banned.

Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets was active in opposition to Russification in Ukraine and in support of civil liberties as guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. She signed a collective letter on behalf of V. Moroz in October of 1970 and sent a letter to Kosygin asking him to intercede on behalf of Moroz, who was seriously ill. Subsequently she lost her job at the Institute.

In 1971 she joined the "Citizen's Committee for the Defence of Nina Strokata" who had been arrested and charged under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. The other members of the group were Pyotr Yakir and Vyacheslav Chornovil. The activities of this Committee were public, and were terminated by the arrests and imprisonment of its members.

She was arrested in January 1972 and sentenced in July of that year to six years imprisonment and three years exile. Iryna was charged under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. in a closed trial. Her husband, Ihor Kalynets, was also sentenced under the same article to nine years imprisonment and three years exile. They have a thirteen year old daughter who is in the care of family and friends.

Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets is serving her sentence in a Mordovian labour camp.

We appeal to all individuals and organizations to act in the spirit of International Women's Year by raising the issue of women prisoners of conscious at all events in connection with International Women's Year and demanding from Soviet authorities

FREEDOM

FOR ALL WOMEN

POLITICAL PRISONERS!

For information and/or donations write to:
ACTION FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE U.S.S.R.
2200 YONGE STREET
SUITE 1701 Tel. (416) 487-1211
TORONTO, ONT.

**International
Women's Year
1975**

Iryna Senyk
6 years hard-labour
&
3 years exile

Nina Strokata
4 years hard-labour

Nadia Svitychna
4 years hard-labour

Stefania Shabatura
5 years hard-labour
&
3 years exile

Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets
6 years hard-labour
&
3 years exile

**What will 1975
International Women's Year
mean to these women?**

These five women will spend 1975 — International Women's Year — in Soviet prisons. The secret trials and harsh sentences are illegal according to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Article 125 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. states:

- "In conformity with the interests of the working people and in order to strengthen the socialist system, the citizens of the U.S.S.R. are guaranteed by law:
 - a.) freedom of speech
 - b.) freedom of the press
 - c.) freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings
 - d.) freedom of street processions and demonstrations
- and Article III of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. states:
- "In all courts of the U.S.S.R. cases are heard in public..."

Svitlychna, Senyk, Strokata, Shabatura, and Stasiv-Kalynets have all been arrested and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. (anti-soviet agitation and propaganda). V. Chornovil, an imprisoned Ukrainian journalist, evaluates Article 62 in the following manner:

"However, the currently popular Article 62 transgresses the Constitution. The Supreme Soviet should either annul the article or define it concretely. In its present formulation, this article completely negates the freedoms guaranteed to citizens by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Whenever someone criticizes the current nationality policy for its deviation from Lenin's standards, he is fully entitled to do so by the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. But, on the strength of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R., this person can be banished to a hard labour camp, because his criticism may be interpreted "propaganda for the purpose of undermining or weakening the Soviet Rule."

(Chornovil Papers, McGraw Hill, London, pg. 7)



Iryna Senyk

Iryna Senyk was born in 1925 in Western Ukraine. She was first arrested in 1946 for her participation in the Ukrainian resistance movement against Hitler and Stalin during WWII. The next ten years of her life Iryna spent in hard labour camps of Siberia and Mordovia A.S.S.R. where she contracted tuberculosis of the spine. It was not until

the early 1960's that she was allowed to return to Ukraine and settle in Ivano-Frankivsk, where she became employed as a nurse.

Iryna Senyk became identified with the current oppositionist movement when the **Ukrainian Herald** listed her name among those signing a petition protesting the arbitrary re-imprisonment of Syatoslav Karavansky and violations of legality at political trials during the 60's. According to a later issue of **The Herald**, in June of 1970 the State attempted to identify her with the case of Valentyin Moroz. Immediately following his arrest, she was among those subjected to interrogations.

Iryna was arrested in October of 1972 and little is known about the circumstances leading to her arrest. The Russian language **Chronicle of Current Events** suggested that one reason for her arrest may have been that a number of Iryna Senyk's poems were found during a search of Vyacheslav Chornovil's apartment. In early 1973, however, in a rare instance of press coverage of a political trial, an Ivano-Frankivsk newspaper presented details of her case. According to the account she had been sentenced to a six year prison term and three years exile under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. Her alleged crimes included: writing and circulating poetry which expressed "subversive" ideas, reading anti-Soviet literature, questioning the States nationalities policy, associating with Ukrainian dissidents Vyacheslav Chornovil and Valentyin Moroz, and defending Syatoslav Karavansky.

Iryna Senyk is presently serving her prison sentence at the women's compound in labour camp # 3 near Barshevo, Mordovia A.S.S.R.. She is reported to be again suffering from tuberculosis of the spine.

Nina Strokata

Nina Strokata was born January 1925, in Odessa. She graduated from the medical institute at Odessa with a degree in microbiology. At first, she was employed at the above mentioned institute and, in time, she worked as a physician in the Southern Regions of Ukraine. From the early 50's until May of 1971 she continued her studies at the medical institute in Odessa. Recently Nina had begun work on a doctoral thesis. Many of her articles and works were published in science journals and digests in cities throughout the Soviet Union.

In 1961 Nina Strokata married Syatoslav Karavansky, who had been released from long-term imprisonment for his participation in the resistance movement during WW II against Hitler and Stalin. Presently, Karavansky, a philologist by profession, is serving a five year term of hard labour and three years exile in Mordovia, labor camp # 1. Nina was instrumental in the defence of her husband during his trial in 1970.

For refusing to denounce her husband Nina was harassed by the KGB (Soviet Secret Police), and arrested in December 1971. Prior to her arrest, she was released from the Odessa Medical Institute. At her closed trial which

took place in Odessa and lasted from May 4th to the 19th of 1972, Strokata was charged with dissemination of "Anti-Soviet" literature (Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R.) and hence sentenced to four years of hard labour.

On May 10th, 1973, Nina Strokata, Stefania Shabatura, and Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets sent a letter to the U.N. Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim, in which they protested the repressions in Ukraine and the policy of Russification. They also protested their prison conditions and demanded an open trial in the presence of a U.N. representative. Nina is still serving her sentence at the Mordovian camps where she took part in a hunger strike from December 5-10, 1973. In May of 1974 Nina Strokata was designated member of the American Society for Micro-Biology.

She is reported to be suffering from breast cancer.



Nadia Svitylychna

Nadia Svitylychna was born in 1942 in the Donbas region of Eastern Ukraine. After studying philology at Kiev State University she worked at a Kiev radio station until 1968, and as a librarian until 1969.

Nadia Svitylychna became active in the dissident movement in Ukraine. During the 1965 arrests she signed numerous letters and petitions on behalf of arrested Ukrainian intellectuals. In 1968, she sent a letter to P. Shelest, then first secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine, protesting the violation of constitutional rights at the trial of Vyacheslav Chornovil.

In 1969 she married Danylo Shumuk, a former political prisoner who had spent twenty years in labour camps for his participation in the Ukrainian resistance movement during the second world war.

During the mass arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in January 1972 she was frequently subjected to interrogation, and subsequently arrested in April 1972. Tried "in camera" on March 23, 1973, Svitylychna was charged under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. S.S.R. and sentenced to four years hard labour and an unspecified period of exile. Her husband, Danylo Shumuk, was sentenced under the same article in July of 1972 to ten years imprisonment and five years exile. Her young son Yarema at first placed in a state orphanage, was then handed over to her mother's care. She is serving her sentence at a hard-labour camp for women prisoners at Barshevo, Mordovia A.S.S.R.

AMNESTY TO ALL WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE U.S.S.R.

YORK UNIVERSITY IN CRISIS

York University finds itself facing a budget crisis even more severe than that of two years ago when President Slater was forced to resign.

The government is increasing the value of the B.I.U. (Basic Income Unit) for next year by only 7.4%. This level of support is inadequate in a period when inflation is rising at a rate of 13%.

The level of provincial grants allows for only a 5.8% wage increase for staff, faculty and workers this year. This increase will not even cancel out this year's inflation let alone make up for previous losses in wages.

A decent wage increase for the faculty and support staff would mean a budget deficit at York for this year alone of between 3 and 4 million dollars, a deficit which is more than twice the total of York's accumulated deficit.

THE BUDGET CRISIS IS NOTHING NEW !

The refusal of the government to provide adequate financing for post-secondary education is not a new policy. The Tory government decided to launch major cutbacks on all important social services, including education, more than two years ago.

In the past two years, tuition fees have increased, grants have been reduced, and loan ceilings raised. The OSAP living stipend remains at 32 dollars per week in spite of the fact that food and shelter have risen more than 24% in the last two years.

On the campus, signs of the cutbacks are visible everywhere. We are forced to line up before consuming over-priced food of questionable taste and quality. You can't even get a meal in the Ross Building!

The paltry level of government financial aid is consciously aimed at forcing the administration to subsidize York's budget deficit by cutting back on the salaries of the staff and faculty. Students have already been forced to subsidize the deficit through increased food, book, and residence costs.

WHAT ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATION?

President Macdonald has suggested that we should pressure the government to provide 'low cost, forgivable' loans to tide the university over the present crises. Since the government is not likely to single out York for special treatment, such 'forgivable' loans would have to amount to \$40 million or more!

If the Tory government can be persuaded so easily to contribute another \$40 million to post-secondary education, one would think that their decision to rationalize the post-secondary education system is not a serious, well planned undertaking. On the contrary, the current deepening budget crises facing most Ontario universities, are merely an extension of the original plan which the government still adheres to.

President Macdonald, by the way, in his capacity as Ontario's Deputy Treasurer, was the person chiefly responsible for the government's cutbacks policies in the first place! The York administration has a long history of anti-student and anti-staff policies. During the first round of the cutbacks struggle, two years ago, the administration tried to break the fees strike by refusing to release OSAP grant checks.

We will have to look elsewhere for solutions to the problem.

WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT THE CUTBACKS?

The answer to the problem lies in the united strength of all the students, staff and faculty at York. The teachers, hospital workers and civil servants point the way forward. Their massive strikes, demonstrations and other actions forced the government to back off from the implementation of cutbacks in the schools and hospitals.

A similar campaign must be organized at York. This meeting to-day is a good start. An ongoing committee should be set up with participation from faculty, staff and students. This committee should organize future actions of a much larger scale. It can also function as a liaison with similar groups at other campuses across Ontario.

At the present time, the maintenance workers(CUPE) here at York are negotiating with the administration for a new contract. It is in the interests of the faculty, Staff Association, and the student body to give active support to the just demands of the CUPE workers.

The government claims that it has no money to pay for education costs. This is a lie. Over this year and the last, the corporations who finance the Tory and Liberal parties have raked in unprecedented profits. The tax structure must be changed so that corporate profits and not residential taxes pay for education.

By fighting the cutbacks, we are also fighting to make education a right and not a privilege. The government must be stopped now, if any progress is to be made in this direction.

STOP THE CUTBACKS!

TAX THE CORPORATIONS TO PAY FOR EDUCATION!

MAKE EDUCATION A RIGHT AND NOT A PRIVILEGE!

Dale Ritch
organizer
York Socialist League

for further information- 667-3532 124 Ross

DALE RITCH (ULS)

DISQUALIFIED!

On Friday March 7, ULS presidential candidate Dale Ritch and McLaughlin candidate Frank Giorno were removed from the ballot by the decision of an appointed election tribunal. There is no appeal to this arbitrary decision, which makes the 1975 CYSF election into a mockery of fair and democratic elections.

As of now, the tribunal has not even attempted to explain their decision. However, it is apparent that there is a campaign to get Ritch and the ULS off the ballot at any cost. Since the ULS is favoured to win the elections, the only way to stop us now is to remove the ULS candidates from the ballot.

The ULS is enraged with this decision which takes away the right of the students to make their own choice, and places this power in the hands of three people who are not even elected!

However, due to the facts that:

- 1) there is no appeal to this decision, and
- 2) there is not enough time to hold another election before end of term, the ULS has decided to contest the presidency nevertheless.

J. J. Koornstra, who originally was on the ballot for presidency as an opponent of the ULS, has agreed to offer his name on the ballot as a surrogate for Dale Ritch, the presidential candidate of the ULS.

In other words, a vote for J. J. Koornstra is a vote for Dale Ritch of the ULS. Upon taking office, J. J. Koorstra will resign and the ULS members on the council intend to elect Dale Ritch as interim organizer over the summer. In the fall a by-election will be held to elect a new president fairly and democratically.

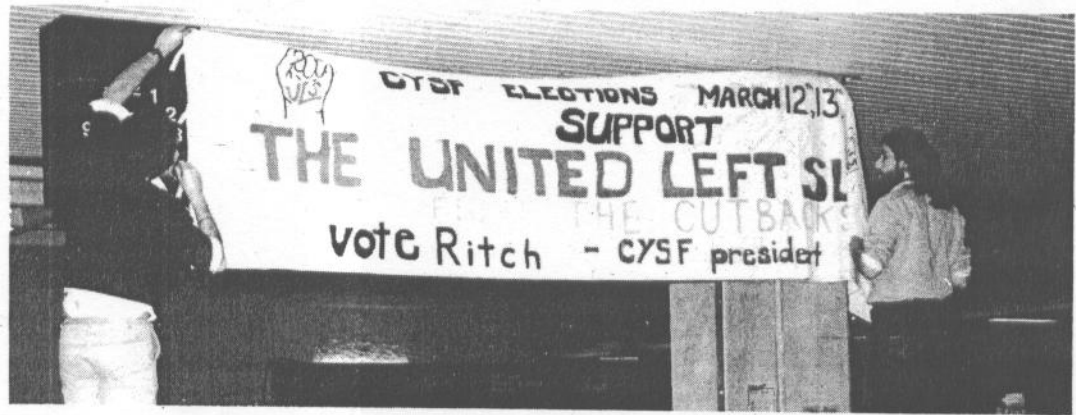
We are taking this drastic action in order to carry out the most important aspect of the ULS programme, i.e. that students have the right to make their own decisions on issues which affect us. We are asking the students who support the programme of the ULS and who support Dale Ritch as CYSF President to vote for J. J. Koorstra.

HEAR RITCH AND KOORSTRA SPEAK TUESDAY NOON IN THE BEARPIT!!



Election fever hits York, as nominations close tomorrow for the CYSF elections, to be held March 12 and 13. Above, Susan Grant, Effie Efantis and Mary Lochhead design posters for the

United Left Slate, which has drafted a complete slate of candidates for the campus. ULS presidential candidate Dale Ritch (below right) helps tack the banners up.



Hugh Dowson



Hugh Dowson

Feb. 12, 1922—Feb. 13, 1975

The following article is based on an address by Ross Dowson of the Socialist League at a service held in memory of Hugh Dowson at the chapel of the Toronto Necropolis and Crematorium on February 17, 1975 and attended by some 130 friends and associates of the deceased and his family.

It was preceded by an address by Murray Dowson on behalf of the family, by a contribution of Ed Corbett of Douglas Local 1967 UAW-CIO, and followed by contributions of Vern Olson of the League for Socialist Action and Bob McCarthy of the Revolutionary Marxist Group.

The picket line mobilizations, the protest demonstrations, the solidarity actions, all such struggles as have taken place over the past thirty years and all those that will continue in the days ahead—from this time on—will be a head shorter with the death of Hugh Dowson.

He was always there, building them, steeling their ranks, distributing leaflets, carrying banners, shouting slogans. And now, he will no longer be there. He will be there only in spirit, in those who took courage and inspiration from him, or from the collectivity that has come out of his contribution.

Whether as an individual on the shop floor by a mill or a lathe, or as a steward, a committee man or a picket captain, in local union meetings, area assemblies and councils, no matter the level, he was a tireless advocate of militant class struggle policies over a span of some three decades in Windsor, Vancouver, and Toronto, for the most part under the banner of the United Automobile Workers.

Hugh Dowson was a worker-militant, an exemplary worker militant—one who not only moved out in the radical forties, but knew how to hold on during the fifties and to take the necessary initiatives in the sixties and seventies. He played an extremely important role as one of the few, and therefore all the more precious, links that the relatively small though vigorous band of revolutionary socialists had with workers-on-the-job in the mass

worker—militant & socialist

production industries of this country. He was grounded and rooted in the industrial working class of Canada. He helped to temper, to stabilize and thereby deepen the thinking and the actions of the Canadian Trotskyists.

What made him an exemplary worker militant was not only his high level of activity but his understanding that the chief significance of the day-to-day struggles of his class and its achievement in higher wages, better working conditions, was above all that they posed the need for, and the possibility of, a serious political struggle against the capitalist class, and that the resolution of this struggle could only be through the establishment of a socialist society in Canada and on a world scale. For this there was required a combat party of revolutionary socialists rooted in the working class.

Hugh came to commit himself to socialism in his own way, and only in part through the influence of his two older brothers and his experiences as a youth in Canada: He joined the Trotskyist movement, not in Canada, but while working as a technician in the Canadian tactical airforce in Europe which suffered some of the most horrendous crimes committed by imperialism during World War II, which he witnessed with his own eyes.

On his own initiative he established contact with the Trotskyists in England who, thanks to the power of the working class movement there,

were not driven underground as their co-thinkers in Canada but were openly campaigning against the war and for a socialist Britain. While the cultural achievements of Europe and hundreds of thousands of her working people were being destroyed, Hugh, particularly by obtaining scarce paper, ink and reproductive equipment, joined with the British Trotskyists and the European partisans of the Fourth International in their efforts to propagandize for a Socialist United States of Europe.

After participating in the "We Want Home Now" armed forces movement which blocked the use of Allied forces against the USSR, he stepped into the tiny Canadian Trotskyist movement then trying to link itself up with the powerful post war industrial union upsurge. His savings and rehabilitation grants helped launch the Trotskyist press, and from then on in Hugh was one of its financial mainstays. From the time of his return from Europe in 1945 until he excused himself for not feeling well from a Socialist League meeting on the fateful evening of February 13, he maintained an unflinching commitment to the cause of the Canadian working class and the world socialist revolution.

His marriage to Claire Lagace, the birth of their four children and his love and devotion to them added a new dimension to his commitment to socialism. His commitment was total, and while passionate, it nonetheless contained a serene element,

an expression of confidence, no matter the vicissitudes, in ultimate victory.

The new generation of revolutionists, particularly those who have come to Trotskyism in the past five years since he suffered a massive heart attack in the fall of 1970, were deprived of an opportunity to arrive at a full and correct assessment of his contribution as a worker-militant. Faced constantly with the danger of death he had to pull back to protect himself from the stresses of the struggle. But in his last year, with the formation of the Socialist League and the new motion in working class ranks, despite the dangers, he gradually commenced a process of increased activity on every level.

His fall leaves a big gap in the socialist ranks which, despite his example, will not be filled. But the fighter he was would have us rearm ourselves in the spirit of the Industrial Workers of the World which he admired, and the words of its poet Ralph Chaplin:

Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie—

Dust unto dust—

The calm, sweet earth that mothers all who die

As all men must.

But rather mourn the apathetic throng—

The cowed and the meek

Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong

And dare not speak!

Forward, March 1975 * 3

Election controversy continues at York

By LAWRENCE GOLDSTEIN

While student elections at U of T proceed with all the fiery enthusiasm of a wet blanket, the smoke still hasn't cleared from York University's bitter and confused student council elections held last Wednesday and Thursday.

In the voting for student council president, John Koornstra, a member of York University's United Left Slate (ULS) emerged an easy winner.

Koornstra polled almost half (635) of the 1,300-odd votes cast in the presidential election. He was running in a field of 10 presidential candidates, the most in council's history.

About 7,000 students were eligible to vote in the presidential election.

The ULS, a student activist party concerned primarily with building a united front of students, campus workers and faculty against provincial government education cutbacks, took 14 of 22 available seats on York's student council.

But the solid ULS victory has been marred by an election racked with accusations of improper procedures

and miscarriages of justice.

Koornstra's status as president-elect has been challenged by York's present student council with a new election planned for March 24-25.

The basis of the challenge is an opinion poll conducted in conjunction with the presidential balloting asking York students if they felt a second election should be held because of confusion surrounding the first.

The vote on this poll was 657 in favor, 596 against with 52 abstentions and 11 spoiled ballots.

But Koornstra charged the poll was a deliberate last-minute attempt by the executive of the student council, to mislead student voters and to discredit the results of the election.

The opinion poll was introduced by the student council executive last Monday and given "official" status at a late-night meeting of York's student council Wednesday, one day into the presidential balloting.

By giving the poll binding status, the council violated its own constitution, which provides for a two-week waiting period when

issues are put to a referendum.

"A lot of ULS supporters probably voted in favor of a new election as a protest against the way things were being run," Koornstra said. "They didn't think the election was fair to the ULS."

However, Koornstra said the ULS was prepared to "accept the results of the election even though we did have to put up with some rather underhanded tactics."

Koornstra was himself a surrogate candidate for ULS member Dale Ritch, disqualified from running in the presidential election by an election tribunal composed of the York student federation speaker, the chief election returning officer and a student representative.

The tribunal ordered Ritch and a running mate, Frank Giorno, disqualified, along with a three-day suspension of all ULS campaigning, because, it was maintained by the tribunal, the ULS started campaigning four days too early.

But many observers argued the tribunal's verdict was unfair and that confusion arose when the student council changed the election dates to March 12 and 13 from March 10 and 11, thus moving nomination closings and campaign starting dates from Feb. 24 to Feb. 28.

The ULS started campaigning on the originally announced Feb. 24 date.

York student council president Ann Scotton admitted things were "definitely unclear" at the council meeting that decided the election dates.

But she said since no one asked for clarification of the dates, none was given.

Scotton also said no action would be taken against a group of students who put up posters designed to discredit the ULS campaign late Tuesday night and Wednesday, again in violation of the council's constitution.

WE'LL MAKE YOU A SOUND
MISE... AND KEEP IT

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VOTE DALE RITCH UNITED LEFT SLATE

The upcoming presidential election on March 24 and 25 is a farce and a fraud.

The ULS had moved towards a court injunction to stop it. Upon further legal investigation, however, we found that in a similar case involving student elections at Guelph University the courts ruled that such elections are beyond their jurisdiction. Because of this legal precedent, and other complications, we cannot rely upon the courts to arrive at a conclusive solution to the problem.

We have no intention of conceding the presidency by default to the bureaucrats who have consistently demonstrated that they would manoeuvre to keep the ULS out of office — regardless of the will of the students. Therefore, we are contesting this election while strongly protesting its fraudulence.

This is not a bona fide election, and we do not intend to give it credibility by campaigning on normal platform issues.

A vote for RITCH is a vote to vindicate the first presidential election, in which the students overwhelmingly expressed their will by electing ULS surrogate J. J. Koornstra with 49% of the popular vote, giving him the biggest landslide in the history of York University.

When Dale Ritch "wins" the fraudulent second election, we shall consider that the students are affirming the original decision in favour of the programme of the United Left Slate.

The ULS is asking its supporters, those students who may not have voted previously, and those who did not vote for the ULS, to protest the subversion of democracy by casting their ballots for DALE RITCH.

A VOTE FOR DALE RITCH IS A VOTE FOR FAIR ELECTIONS !!

PROTEST UNFAIR ELECTIONS

Date

Vote

RITCH

- for -

President

ULS

Vote

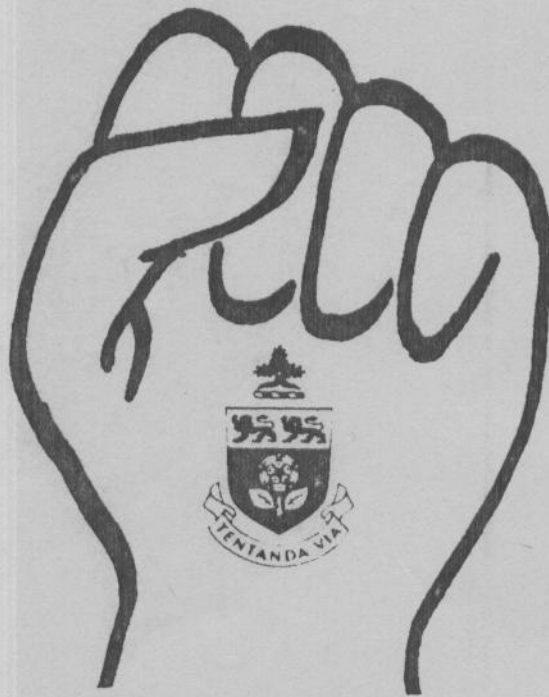
again!

(Found in 1975)

HOW STUDENTS CAN CHANGE SOCIETY: THE STRUGGLE FOR A RED UNIVERSITY

WITH DALE RITCH

STUDENT SENATOR AND C.Y.S.F. PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE



THURSDAY
MARCH
28

CURTIS
LECTURE HALL
"D"
1:00 P.M.

YORK
UNIVERSITY

FOR THEORETICAL LITERATURE DROP DOWN TO THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE, 85 KING ST. E.,
3RD FLOOR

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON SOCIALIST STUDY GROUPS THIS SUMMER CONTACT THE
SOCIALIST LEAGUE AT 363-6755

the ULS programme and our politics," said the president-elect. "The total support for the right wing candidates decreased this time.

strong and growing support on campus, and it's these students who want to see changes.

• Continued on page 3

will be York's CYSF president for the upcoming year.

Chief returning officer Henry Goldberg and CYSF president Anne

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C. T. Sguassero photo

Smiling broadly, Dale Ritch appears outside the CYSF offices with his supporters shortly after his presidential victory Tuesday night. To his left is

Anhelyn Szuch, who captured a seat on the board of governors two weeks ago.

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very good article

Student actions

By Bill Saunders

Brock University, as a result of its own experience in the struggle against the cutbacks, hosted a major Ontario-wide open activist conference on March 7-9. 250 participants, representing 18 post-secondary institutions, trade unions, high school students unions and political parties braved a harsh March storm to attend the conference, coming from as far away as Thunder Bay and Windsor. A number of buses from outlying areas had been cancelled at the last minute because of the storm.

The overall spirit of the conference's sessions was that higher education should be a social right, not an economic privilege. A series of policies were developed to immediately lighten the financial burden on individual students and their families; to increase government support of child care facilities and for part time students. Workshops adopted the principle of increased taxation of corporate profits and public ownership of all resource industries as the way to raise educational and social revenues.

An important report from the Ottawa delegation was seen as the model for future student activity. There, a Common Front For The Preservation of Education has been formed which unites students, campus workers and faculty at Carleton, Ottawa University and Algonquin College. This concept of regional united fronts which would link up with trade union and community groups was heartily received by the conference.

The meeting called upon the Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) to accept the task of coordinating a province-wide common front to oppose educational and social service cutbacks. Plans are for a province-wide demonstration at Queen's Park and for efforts to make the cutbacks a major issue in the upcoming provincial elections.

While most conference participants agreed that OFS had

displayed a singular lack of initiative in building this conference or any other mass student activities, it is expected that after this conference — whose decisions OFS delegates agreed to — they will begin to live up to their responsibilities.

On balance the conference is one of the most positive developments in student political activity in many years. It poses a whole rebirth of the student movement which had fallen dormant after the decline of the anti-Vietnam war movement.

What are the main features of this upsurge? First, it was evident that the movement is starting off on a completely different level than the last wave of campus activists. In the sixties their concerns revolved primarily around international and what might be termed "moralistic" issues, somewhat removed from daily life. It took place in the context of general capitalist prosperity and a low level of political consciousness in the working class. This contributed to their extreme isolation from the working class and consequent difficulty in sustaining the movement, frequently resulting in frustration and desperation.

In the present situation, the students are beginning to mobilize around issues of immediate, domestic and economic concern, issues which are of more concern to large numbers of workers. Symbolic of this is the demand for student loans and grants indexed to the cost of living, the student version of the powerful COLA struggles.

The backdrop of the new student movement is also quite different. The present cuts in education and social service spending are the product of the world-wide economic recession and the long-term decline of capitalist prosperity: the same forces which are fuelling working class activism.

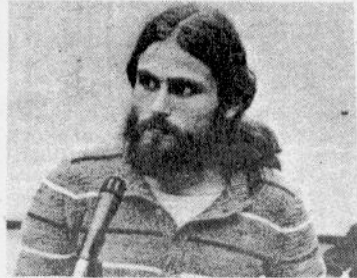
The student struggle for the preservation of higher education

8* Forward, March 1975

take on cutbacks

starts off at the beginning of the first major working class radicalization since the end of the second World War. This juncture gives rise to the possibility of the new student movement synchronizing its struggles with the overall tempo of

York left slate victory



Dale Ritch

A United Left Slate formed to fight the cutbacks in education, government racism and the inequality facing women emerged victorious in student council elections at York University in Toronto. The slate's success extended to 13 of the 21 posts it contested. It won the presidency with a whopping 48 percent plurality — the remaining votes dispersed among nine other candidates.

The victory was earned in the face of unparalleled harassment against the slate. Despite active support from a wide variety of student groups and organizations, including the campus NDP club and the student paper *Excalibur*, former student council officials were

the class struggle.

This situation poses the necessity of a new kind of student leadership. We may well see the end of the knights of revolutionary phrase, who shrank from or were incapable of explaining their ideas to the majority of students, let alone to the

unrestrained in their attempts to block the slate's success. Their maneuvers encompassed everything from technicalities which denied the slate the possibility of electioneering during three key days to disqualification of ULS presidential candidate Dale Ritch. When the ULS overcame these obstacles and found a surrogate candidate to run in Ritch's place, the council-appointed tribunal made its last-ditch effort by disqualifying the presidential elections as a whole.

The campaign was also marked by vicious red-baiting, with blood-red "Vote Communist + Vote ULS" posters plastered over the campus on the eve of elections. Intended to appear as actual ULS material, the posters were also designed to disqualify the slate for illegal last minute electioneering.

The jubilant slate council members have set their first task as preparing a wholehearted campaign to mobilize the student body against university administration restrictions on student rights and against government-imposed cutbacks in education.

not ~~enough~~ ^{space allocated to this}
ranks of the working class. It is also clear that student leaders who shrink from mass political involvement to rely primarily on high-level lobbying and organizing dances will not be adequate to the crisis. This fact was well demonstrated recently when an 8000-signature petition to increase student financial aid, gathered by OFS, was summarily dismissed by Universities Minister James Auld.

The organizers of the Brock conference show the way forward with three basic ideas: open mass involvement of the student body; a working class orientation through a united front with campus workers and trade unions; and transitional policies based on immediate needs of the students and working people

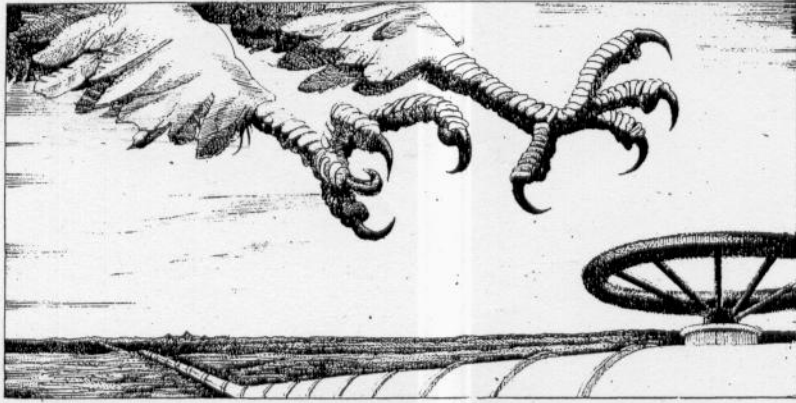
of the province — needs which inevitably challenge the basic priorities of capitalism.

Brock sweep

Three key organizers of the recent Ontario Students Action Conference against educational cutbacks were swept into the offices of Students' Union President and student senators in the recent annual elections at Brock U. Pierre Ouellette, a member of the Brock Socialist Students Coalition, won against a pro-business candidate with a resounding 519 to 198 majority.

Rick Bolek and Fred Lindal were elected to the university senate on a common ticket against educational cutbacks.

Oil buccaneers plunder public funds



By Gord Doctorow

No sooner had the big business-controlled governments in Ottawa, Ontario, and Alberta announced that they would mortgage Canadian tax dollars and Canada's oil development future — to pay for all the concessions demanded by the US oil companies for Syncrude — than Mitchell Sharp as Acting Prime Minister announced that the government might approve \$7 billion for a proposed Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline before the pipeline inquiry

had completed its hearings.

The Syncrude sellout has netted the profit-gorged oil companies \$600 million in government investment, \$600 million from the Alberta government to pay for infrastructure, \$200 million in loans from the Alberta government, tax concessions worth hundreds of millions dollars, a guaranteed market price for tar sands oil at double the current rate for conventional Canadian oil. In

Continued on page 5

May 10 - for national women's rights action

By the Editors

"International Women's Year is a lot of humbug." This was the angry response of Laura Sabia, chairwoman of the Ontario Status of Women Council, in reference to the government campaign of glossy words. The Council believes, as do many Canadian women, that International Women's Year is a time for action to improve the status of women in Canada.

This kind of sentiment is becoming widespread. Speaking at York University, Stephen Lewis charged: "It is manipulative to give

By the Editors

"International Women's Year is a lot of humbug." This was the angry response of Laura Sabia, chairwoman of the Ontario Status of Women Council, in reference to the government campaign of glossy words. The Council believes, as do many Canadian women, that International Women's Year is a time for action to improve the status of women in Canada.

This kind of sentiment is becoming widespread. Speaking at York University, Stephen Lewis charged: "It is manipulative to give authenticity to things that don't exist... it is giving a status to tokenism."

As Sabia wrote to Mary Gusella, director of the International Women's Year Secretariat: "Let government, both federal and provincial, implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission Report — a wide dissemination of contraceptive information; changes in the Divorce Act; take abortion out of the Criminal Code; a network of day care centres; a new Labor Standards Act without the limitation clause; new family property laws, etc." This is the only course to be taken if serious changes are to be

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PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 1, No. 7 March 1975 Toronto 20 Cents

Johns - Manville empire is built on blood of workers

By Harry Kopyto

Murder Incorporated would be a more fitting name than the one currently used by the Canadian Johns-Manville plant located in a Toronto suburb. This company should be charged with having knowingly, for years, intentionally and in cold blood murdered, maimed and injured dozens of workers in the plant. How many more workers will yet die is unknown, but the wholesale slaughter that has already taken place will stand as an outrageous condemnation of a social order which puts profit before human life. Even more significant, the complicity of the Ontario Government in these murders should enrage Canadians to rise in a groundswell of protest against the politics of big business which aids and abets the murders and which reacts to the accusations with an indifferent shrug of the shoulders.

The facts which serve to support the indictment of the company and the government are simple and incontrovertible.

Dennis Smith wanted to work at Canadian Johns-Manville Company Ltd. for 25 years so his family would get an \$89 a month pension. He didn't quite make it—he died in January from abdominal cancer—one month short of his pension.

"Doctors told him three years ago he had asbestosis," his wife said, "but he told me he wasn't going to quit because we would need the pension."

Gordon Day worked 26 years for Johns-Manville. After being told that he was being killed by mesothelioma—a disease of the lungs caused by inhaling asbestos fibres—he continued to punch the clock until March last year. But the pain was too intense. He died in December.

There's also John Carlton, Joe

McViety, Jerry Middleton. All were in their 50s. All are dead. All of them worked for Johns-Manville, the plant located in a workingclass suburb of Toronto which produces asbestos products like pipes.

The company quibbles over the number of workers who have been destroyed by diseases contracted in the plant. But members of Local 346 of the International Chemical Workers Union have been standing silently, heads bowed, at the beginning of each of their last three monthly meetings. The members stand in silence for so long you can almost feel their pain—and anger—as they mark the death of another union brother who has fallen victim to asbestosis, cancer, or some asbestos-related respiratory disease.

Bill Barton stood up at the monthly meeting last January. "I've got shadows on both lungs. They knew I'd had it (asbestosis) for 12 years, and they never told me. When they did tell me last November, the (plant) doctor said, 'Go back to work, you'll live longer than I will!'" Bill added that the doctor was 20 years older than he was. "I'm really sorry for the guys in their 40s who work at that place. They're not even going to live to my age."

The Workmen's Compensation Board had figures on the deaths for years. So did three other Ontario government departments—health, environment and labor. But nobody said anything. Nobody did anything.

The plant management slapped itself on the back for its high standard of safety. The plant doctors reported only to the management on results of medical examinations. And the government departments carefully gathered and recorded the statistics and piled them up in musty books in the Queen's Park library.

It wasn't until late January, when Stephen Lewis, leader of the Ontario NDP, raised the issue in parliament, that the deaths became an issue of public concern. Lewis presented carefully researched data that showed that more than 50 workers in the Scarborough plant were dying of cancer and debilitating asbestosis. He pointed out that these statistics were taken from government records yet no one in the government was doing "a bloody thing about it". He pointed out that even the Labor Ministry knew from its studies that 78 percent of the plant areas monitored were in excess of the acceptable standards of asbestos exposure. He wondered how members of the Workmen's Compensation Board could sleep at night knowing what the figures represented in workers' lives. And he called for closing the plant and giving the workers full pay until the plant could be cleaned up.

The Ontario Conservative government reacted in typical fashion.

Cabinet members talked about the necessity for better correlation of figures between government departments. A "surprise visit" was made to the plant at a time which just happened to coincide with the completion of a two week cleanup project. And Health Minister Frank Miller reacted typically by accusing the NDP of being fear mongers. "I am apologizing to people in that community who you have frightened to death." "Would you rather have them die than be frightened?" replied NDP MPP Morton Shulman.

The pollution from the Johns-Manville plant not only seeps into the lungs of plant workers. It also flows across the street to the halls and classrooms of Sir Oliver Mowat Collegiate in a concentration 57 times the recommended level, according to US environmental medicine specialist Dr. Bertram Carnow. It finds its way into Toronto's harbor, where waste materials from the

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Dredged - out scandal trail leads to Lib - Tory politicians

By John Morgan

Charges of price-fixing in major dredging contracts and payment of kick-backs to Liberal and Tory politicians in Hamilton, Ont. and at Isle d'Orleans, Quebec, have embroiled both the provincial and federal governments in a major scandal. Ontario Attorney-General Kerr has resigned following testimony that he sought and obtained a campaign contribution. Federal Labor Minister John Munro was advised to remain under sedation in an Ottawa hospital by Prime Minister Trudeau, rather than to resign, when he was implicated in the "Harbourgate" scandal.

The dredging contract investigations are particularly serious for the Quebec Liberal government, as it involves a company controlled by the Simard industrial empire. The Simards have long been Liberal party king-makers, and the wife of Premier Bourassa is a Simard heiress. In recent months Bourassa's government has been shaken by

disclosures that several Simard-controlled companies are doing big business in government contracts. During the last year there have been a series of scandals arising out of official investigations into organized crime and so-called union violence that have backfired against the government. The investigations have exposed links between prominent Liberals and Mafia figures, union provocateurs, and the sale of influence and jobs by government functionaries.

On March 12, thirteen dredging companies and fourteen of their top executives were charged with conspiring to defraud the federal and Ontario governments in Hamilton and Toronto Harbour projects. Over \$4 million was swindled from the public treasury in Ontario, and three contracts in Quebec involve frauds of about \$2 million, the RCMP charged. Labor Minister Munro defended the appointments by stating: "Of course there's patronage, and you know it, and everyone knows it."

In Ottawa, the Liberal

government has denied delaying the investigation. Transport Minister Marchand admitted however that he had requested an RCMP investigation as long ago as January 1973. And in June 1974 the Montreal daily Le Jour published allegations of rigged tender prices and pay-offs by dredging companies in connection with the Isle d'Orleans project. Only after two years has the RCMP report of what it describes as "a massive fraud against the Canadian people" finally been made public, revealing how the major dredging companies conspired to fix contract prices and laundered payoff monies through phony companies and fictitious persons in the US. The Judge hearing the case barred publication of the evidence, and Ontario special prosecutor Powell has yet to lay charges against the companies or executives named in the RCMP report.

The federal government brushed aside a demand for a public inquiry, even though it saw fit to withhold a

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P. 2

effected for women in Canada.

But the Canadian government does not have this view in mind for International Women's Year. Instead, Health and Welfare Minister Marc Lalonde, the man put in charge of this year-for-women, is concentrating his efforts on changing attitudes as a substitute for changing conditions.

For instance, Lalonde, using a typical Liberal government anti-woman apologia, says that he can't see the issue coming before the House of Commons before 1978, because he doesn't think the majority of the public is yet ready for change. He is quick to forget the majority pro-abortion sentiment recorded in Gallup Polls, editorials in the papers and the recommendations from his own government's Royal Commission on the Status of Women when he makes such a preemptive statement. The Liberal government doesn't wait for the majority of the public to be ready for change when they pass legislation in the interest of the male-dominated ruling class — when they impose higher taxes on working people while giving tax handouts to the corporations; when they sell out our resources to the US big business interests in Syncrude; when they institute the War

continued on page 2

March for women's rights

continued from page 1

Measures Act against the will of the Quebecois nation, etc.

It is obvious that the Trudeau government is not operating in the interests of women in International Women's Year or in any year and it falls to the women of Canada to take action to force the government to implement the changes that women have been demanding for so many years.

The call for action has been launched by a group of women who coalesced during the weekend of workshops sponsored by a wide variety of community, women's and political groups at Toronto City Hall on International Women's Day. Out of almost every workshop came the motion to hold a cross-country day of protest on Saturday, May 10, calling for women to unite in a mighty demonstration to compel the government to implement the Royal Commission Report.

Such a show of solidarity on the

part of women across the country would be the important first step necessary to form a pan-Canadian movement of women to make International Women's Year a year of change for the millions of women in Canada.

The Liberal government has \$5 million to spend on a campaign to enhance the image of women this year which involves mailing "Why Not" buttons and advertising to "change peoples' heads." Their efforts are guided by the hope that they can tip their hat to widespread feminist sentiment, co-opt its spirit with flashy slogans and straddle it with a leadership trained in the backrooms of the establishment. Faced with this insult and challenge, it is essential that a force of women, united around a national action focussed on Ottawa, the seat of government power, be mobilized. Actions like this can provide the coordinated impetus to change the reality of women's lives.

2* Forward, March 1975

L'Espresso



**Aborto:
Una
tragedia
italiana**

Abortion, An Italian Tragedy.
Repeal of abortion laws is focus of women's movement around world. In Italy, popular weekly L'Espresso launched campaign for abortion referendum.

Fired racing steward fights gov't anti-gay discrimination

An important test case for equal rights for homosexuals has been posed by the dismissal of John Damien, steward for the Ontario Racing Commission.

Damien, who was one of three judges responsible for supervision of all staff and thoroughbred horse-races, was fired from his position on February 6, 1975, solely because of his homosexuality. Implicated in his firing are the Ontario Ministry of Consumer and Commercial Relations, the Racing Commission and the Jockey Club, a bastion for cabinet ministers and capitalists formerly presided over by E. P. Taylor.

Damien was called down to the office of the government ministry and was offered \$1,700 and a letter of recommendation if he would resign. He was told his homosexuality made him subject to influence, though no specific incident of incompetence or impropriety was ever alleged.

His decision to fight his dismissal publicly has gathered wide support, including editorial backing from the *Toronto Star* and *Globe and Mail*. On March 8th, close to 1,000 women attending an International Women's Day conference endorsed his fight.

Harry Kopyto, Mr. Damien's lawyer, announced a two-pronged legal offensive at a press conference February 14. He is preparing a submission to the Ontario Human Rights Commission as well as launching a million dollar suit for wrongful dismissal on the grounds that there was a conspiracy to injure Damien in his trade.

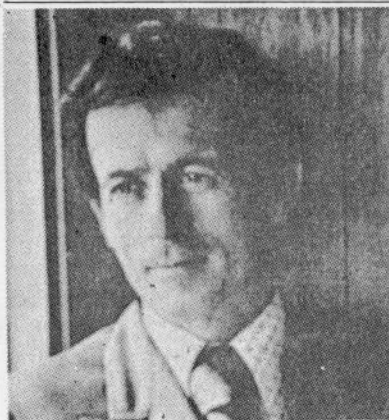
The Ontario Human Rights Commission, under the jurisdiction of the Department of Labor, is empowered to act against dismissal of employees on the grounds of discrimination because of sex. However, the Commission takes a narrow view of the definition of the word "sex", interpreting the word as referring

only to gender and not including "sexual orientation". The submission will argue for a broader definition of the word and seek to establish the principle that homosexuals should be protected by the Ontario Human Rights Code in the same way that all other minorities are protected. The lack of legal protection for homosexuals is a serious anomaly in the law and Damien's challenge to the Commission clearly poses the broader question of equal rights and protection for people irrespective of their sexual preferences.

The suit which Damien is launching is directed against the Ontario government as well as the Racing Commission and the individuals who participated in the firing. The suit will clearly pose the issue of the right of homosexuals to full protection from job discrimination.

The arrogance of the government and of the Racing Commission in the firing is truly astounding. Charles

MacNaughton, who heads the Racing Commission has stated publicly that homosexuals in positions of responsibility are subject to



"Twenty years of service wiped out and no way to earn a living. They wouldn't even give me a hearing, I felt I couldn't just walk away without fighting it ... I wanted to help make things easier for the thousands of ordinary gay people who may be subject to the same treatment." John Damien in *Gay Rising*

blackmail. Damien has never hidden his sexual orientation and his decision to fight back is clear evidence that he was not subject to blackmail.

An Ontario-wide defence committee has been established and Damien is planning a provincial tour to publicize his case and to raise funds for his defence. Donations and enquiries should be addressed to:

John Damien Defence Committee
193 Carlton St.,
Toronto

rights violated

BC's NDP Minister of Labor has appointed its first Board of Enquiry to investigate a complaint launched against the *Vancouver Sun* for its refusal to run a regular ad sponsored by the Gay Alliance Toward Equality (GATE). The *Sun* considered the ad offensive to public decency.

Kathleen Ruff, director of the BC Human Rights Code, reported to the Minister, charging the *Sun* with a violation of Section 3 of the Human Rights Code. She claims the *Sun* has shown no reasonable cause for refusing access to a public service and has been discriminatory in its standards.

CIA - RCMP spy collusion

By Alex Roy

"Anyone who believes that the CIA would not infiltrate a country like Canada, where the US has such enormous assets, is very naive", was publisher Mel Hurtig's curt dismissal of the Canadian government's ritual denials of the presence of any CIA agents in this country.

Startling reports of the extent to which this super-secret arm of the American state is wrapped around the Canadian throat have been snowballing. Exposures made by former CIA officials of the agency's nefarious and even formally illegal activities in the US and abroad have aroused public demands for further investigation. The appropriate whitewash commission (as Tom Wicker of the New York Times put it, "having the CIA investigated by such a group is like having the Mafia audited by its own accountants") has of course been set up by US President Ford to keep a cover on the cesspool. But under the spotlight of public scrutiny, the CIA has not yet been able to silence those who are continuing to blow the cover of its secrecy.

The agency, which has defended "democracy" in such actions as the overthrow of the Arbenz government of Guatemala and the Mossadegh government of Iran, the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, the "secret war" in Laos, and the savage military coup in Chile has kept a covetous eye on Canada since the early fifties when it sent large numbers of agents to infiltrate the country, disguised as refugees from Europe.

CIA-FBI activities in Canada have taken two broad forms:

- 1) Protecting American political interests by spying on, harrasing and sabotaging left-wing groups in Canada. For this purpose, the FBI sent Joseph Burton, fresh from his training in infiltrating US unions, to Canada for several assignments. Posing as a Maoist, this police provocateur worked to divide various Maoist currents represented at a conference of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). He was also assigned to find and silence the organization's printing press.
- 2) Protecting American economic interests directly. This entails ensuring the continued flow of Cana-

dian natural resources to the US by infiltrating the petrochemical industry in Calgary (as Mel Hurtig charges), as well as spying on Canadian technology which might rival that of American firms. US Senator Richard Schweiker recently revealed a secret CIA document outlining the Agency's plans for industrial espionage upon the sophisticated ground and air transport technology of Canada, France, Britain, Japan and the USSR. Special interest was expressed in Canada's advanced Short Take-Off and Landing aircraft. The spying charges

banana syndrome

The *Wall Street Journal* in its January 28, 1975 editorial frets about the government legislation restricting the Canadian editions of *Time*. It's worried about the "banana-republic syndrome" which is making "in-roads in Ottawa". If even the servile politicians in Ottawa can be likened to banana republics, ie, for the *Wall Street Journal*, regimes which "interfere" with the freedom of US commerce, it's no wonder that CIA agents have to be hustled up here.

were of course routinely denied by External Affairs Minister MacEachen.

Even more significant than the presence of the CIA here is the complicity of the Canadian state in these and many other outrageous violations of the sovereignty and civil liberties of the Canadian people. The RCMP actually acted as a stooge and front for the American spy service. For instance:

—The RCMP has persistently denied the existence of and covered up CIA spies in Canada. They do so despite CIA ex-colonel Philip Agee's published list of agents and the fact that "one of the worst-kept secrets in Ottawa" is that the US Embassy liaison man and several members of his staff are CIA agents.

—Canada's security chiefs actually

continued from page 5

open up their files (which after the fashion of their US counterparts, the RCMP routinely fill with information obtained by electronic surveillance and invasion of privacy) to the CIA-FBI, whose spies operate with the full knowledge and cooperation of the RCMP. FBI spy Joseph Burton's activities were agreed to by the RCMP without their bothering to solicit the approval of Solicitor General Allmand.

All this is consistent with a police policy which underlines the integration of several functions of the Canadian and American states—an integration which dates back to the 1941 Hyde Park agreement which shared and integrated continental "defence" responsibilities between them.

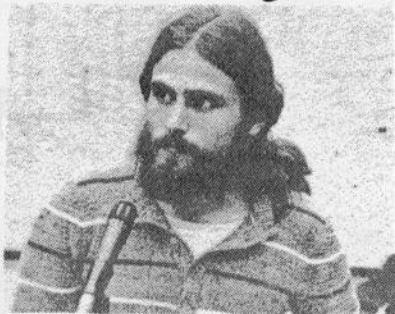
Since then, Canada has starred in one inglorious role after another as servile adjuncts for American imperialism—in Korea, the Congo, Vietnam and Cyprus. Its hospitality in assisting American spies within its own borders is merely the internal manifestation of the same disease. This junior partner relation between Canadian capitalism and American imperialism is naturally reflected in relations on the level of the state, the ultimate protector of capitalism against the working class.

This is why it is nonsense to assert, as do Mel Hurtig and the *Toronto Star*, that the answer to CIA snooping in Canadian affairs is for the RCMP to "do its job". The RCMP is doing its job when it shines the shoes of American spies—it is protecting the interests of Canadian capital, which are inseparable from American capital.

The Canadian capitalists are no more capable of making a definitive break from US imperialism to which it is a mere appendage, than it is of cutting its own belly. Only a labor government can wrest Canada free from the octopus arms of American imperialism, its armies and spies, and restore the violated sovereignty and civil rights of the Canadian people.

continued on page 7

York left slate victory



Dale Ritch

A United Left Slate formed to fight the cutbacks in education, government racism and the inequality facing women emerged victorious in student council elections at York University in Toronto. The slate's success extended to 13 of the 21 posts it contested. It won the presidency with a whopping 48 percent plurality — the remaining votes dispersed among nine other candidates.

The victory was earned in the face of unparalleled harassment against the slate. Despite active support from a wide variety of student groups and organizations, including the campus NDP club and the student paper *Excalibur*, former student council officials were unrestrained in their attempts to block the slate's success. Their maneuvers encompassed everything from technicalities which denied the slate the possibility of electioneering during three key days to disqualification of ULS presidential candidate Dale Ritch. When the ULS overcame these obstacles and found a surrogate candidate to run in Ritch's place, the council-appointed tribunal made its last-ditch effort by disqualifying the presidential elections as a whole.

The campaign was also marked by vicious red-baiting, with blood-red "Vote Communist — Vote ULS" posters plastered over the campus on the eve of elections. Intended to appear as actual ULS material, the posters were also designed to disqualify the slate for illegal last minute electioneering.

The jubilant slate council members have set their first task as preparing a wholehearted campaign to mobilize the student body against university administration restrictions on student rights and against government-imposed cutbacks in education.

Forward opens annual drive: \$5000 by May 15

Ten months ago, we launched *Forward* to provide a socialist, labor paper that would speak to the interests of working people. We began by giving clear and unequivocal support to the NDP in the federal elections. By September, with several hundred subscriptions garnered from the election, we were ready with the second issue, taking the paper to Labor Day marches with our support of TTC strikers and to NDP conventions in BC and Ontario.

Our fund drive appeal for \$4000 appeared in that issue and was directed to those who supported our efforts to carry the transitional program and ideas of socialism into the labor movement. With that money we were able to start the paper off and publish it on a regular basis.

The challenges and opportunities before socialists have never been greater. NDP governments in three provinces are under persistent attack by big business. Interest and activity in the NDP is reviving across the country. The sell-out of natural resources to US imperialist corporations continues. Injury and death haunts workers in a system which puts profit before life. Millions of new women are coming to feminist consciousness which hungers for a socialist analysis, but which the government is trying to co-opt with fine phrases. There are the beginnings of new developments in the student movement. There is an unprecedented strike wave as workers strive to defend their standard of living. Inflation, stagflation, recession and now, what fashionable economists call in-flump, demand a socialist analysis.

Forward has taken advantage of these opportunities by a policy of free mass distributions at labor, women's and NDP meetings. Although this has helped expand our sub base and circulate popular socialist ideas among newly awakening militants, it hasn't paid our bills. It has increased our political capital on which we hope to grow in the following year.

But, as we begin that year, dating it from May 15, the month of international working class celebration and protest, we need money. Money for typesetting, printing, mailings, graphic materials and new equipment. It is the bare minimum we can survive on for a year.

This issue, as all others, reveals the major challenge before working people — corruption, US takeovers, oppression, exploitation and even death — or socialism. Help humanity take the socialist road. We appeal to you to help us in our first annual fund drive.

Hugh Dowson



Hugh Dowson

Feb. 12, 1922—Feb. 13, 1975

The following article is based on an address by Ross Dowson of the Socialist League at a service held in memory of Hugh Dowson at the chapel of the Toronto Necropolis and Crematorium on February 17, 1975 and attended by some 130 friends and associates of the deceased and his family.

It was preceded by an address by Murray Dowson on behalf of the family, by a contribution of Ed Corbett of Douglas Local 1967 UAW-CIO, and followed by contributions of Vern Olson of the League for Socialist Action and Bob McCarthy of the Revolutionary Marxist Group.

The picket line mobilizations, the protest demonstrations, the solidarity actions, all such struggles as have taken place over the past thirty years and all those that will continue in the days ahead—from this time on—will be a head shorter with the death of Hugh Dowson.

He was always there, building them, steeling their ranks, distributing leaflets, carrying banners, shouting slogans. And now, he will no longer be there. He will be there only in spirit, in those who took courage and inspiration from him, or from the collectivity that has come out of his contribution.

Whether as an individual on the shop floor by a mill or a lathe, or as a steward, a committee man or a picket captain, in local union meetings, area assemblies and councils, no matter the level, he was a tireless advocate of militant class struggle policies over a span of some three decades in Windsor, Vancouver, and Toronto, for the most part under the banner of the United Automobile Workers.

Hugh Dowson was a worker-militant, an exemplary worker militant—one who not only moved out in the radical forties, but knew how to hold on during the fifties and to take the necessary initiatives in the sixties and seventies. He played an extremely important role as one of the few, and therefore all the more precious, links that the relatively small though vigorous band of revolutionary socialists had with workers-on-the-job in the mass

worker—militant & socialist

production industries of this country. He was grounded and rooted in the industrial working class of Canada. He helped to temper, to stabilize and thereby deepen the thinking and the actions of the Canadian Trotskyists.

What made him an exemplary worker militant was not only his high level of activity but his understanding that the chief significance of the day-to-day struggles of his class and its achievement in higher wages, better working conditions, was above all that they posed the need for, and the possibility of, a serious political struggle against the capitalist class, and that the resolution of this struggle could only be through the establishment of a socialist society in Canada and on a world scale. For this there was required a combat party of revolutionary socialists rooted in the working class.

Hugh came to commit himself to socialism in his own way, and only in part through the influence of his two older brothers and his experiences as a youth in Canada: He joined the Trotskyist movement, not in Canada, but while working as a technician in the Canadian tactical airforce in Europe which suffered some of the most horrendous crimes committed by imperialism during World War II, which he witnessed with his own eyes.

On his own initiative he established contact with the Trotskyists in England who, thanks to the power of the working class movement there,

were not driven underground as their co-thinkers in Canada but were openly campaigning against the war and for a socialist Britain. While the cultural achievements of Europe and hundreds of thousands of her working people were being destroyed, Hugh, particularly by obtaining scarce paper, ink and reproductive equipment, joined with the British Trotskyists and the European partisans of the Fourth International in their efforts to propagandize for a Socialist United States of Europe.

After participating in the "We Want Home Now" armed forces movement which blocked the use of Allied forces against the USSR, he stepped into the tiny Canadian Trotskyist movement then trying to link itself up with the powerful post war industrial union upsurge. His savings and rehabilitation grants helped launch the Trotskyist press, and from then on in Hugh was one of its financial mainstays. From the time of his return from Europe in 1945 until he excused himself for not feeling well from a Socialist League meeting on the fateful evening of February 13, he maintained an unflinching commitment to the cause of the Canadian working class and the world socialist revolution.

His marriage to Claire Lagace, the birth of their four children and his love and devotion to them added a new dimension to his commitment to socialism. His commitment was total, and while passionate, it nonetheless contained a serene element,

an expression of confidence, no matter the vicissitudes, in ultimate victory.

The new generation of revolutionists, particularly those who have come to Trotskyism in the past five years since he suffered a massive heart attack in the fall of 1970, were deprived of an opportunity to arrive at a full and correct assessment of his contribution as a worker-militant. Faced constantly with the danger of death he had to pull back to protect himself from the stresses of the struggle. But in his last year, with the formation of the Socialist League and the new motion in working class ranks, despite the dangers, he gradually commenced a process of increased activity on every level.

His fall leaves a big gap in the socialist ranks which, despite his example, will not be filled. But the fighter he was would have us rearm ourselves in the spirit of the Industrial Workers of the World which he admired, and the words of its poet Ralph Chaplin:

Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie—

Dust unto dust—

The calm, sweet earth that mothers all who die

As all men must.

But rather mourn the apathetic throng—

The cowed and the meek

Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong

And dare not speak!

Forward, March 1975 * 3

Este é o programa da LCI para as eleições, à Assembleia Constituinte. LCI com 102 candidatos em 4 distritos, sugerem em Portugal onde não concorram. Que votem pelo PCP: MES e FSP.

Desde que o PCP, MES e FSP não concorrem na Imigração: A SOCIALIST LEAGUE ACONSELHA OS EMIGRANTES PORTUGUESES A VOTAREM NO MDP/CDE.

Publicado pela Socialist League, 53 Gerrard Street West, Toronto



LIGA COMUNISTA INTERNACIONALISTA

O ascenso das lutas operárias, que aponta para a maturação de uma crise pré-revolucionária em Portugal impõe às organizações operárias e revolucionárias, aos marxistas revolucionários tarefas extremamente importantes. Entre elas está sem dúvida a necessidade de armar politicamente os trabalhadores para a luta contra a exploração e a reacção capitalista com um programa de acção que seja, não só o intérprete fiel dos interesses mais elementares das massas trabalhadoras, como também aponte para o aprofundamento da mobilização anticapitalista de massas, de forma a prepará-las para as tarefas da revolução socialista.

Por isso esse programa desenvolve-se em torno dos seguintes temas:

1) ~~Uma só solução: começar a acção!~~

Contra a reacção fascista, a auto-defesa da classe operária!

Os acontecimentos do 11 de Março fizeram mais uma vez demonstrar a todos os trabalhadores que a reacção capitalista não desarma, e que está pronta a lançar os seus ataques silenciosos sobre a classe operária e as suas organizações sindicais e políticas.

Mas os trabalhadores sabem também que, se mesmo depois das lições do 28 de Setembro foi possível uma nova intentona reaccionária desta vez partindo de um sector das próprias Forças Armadas, de novo com o apoio de Spínola e do P.D.C., se o grande capital esteve mais uma vez envolvido e financiou o golpe de Estado, tudo isto resulta da falta de medidas firmes contra a reacção capitalista. Em vez dessas medidas a «firmesa» foi usada contra os trabalhadores, para reprimir as suas lutas, (nomeadamente contra a reorganização dos fascistas, como

POR UM GOVERNO DOS TRABALHADORES

no boicote ao Congresso do C.D.S. no Porto) e contra as organizações revolucionárias; tudo isto ao mesmo tempo que se deixavam impunes os crimes de sabotagem económica dos grandes industriais e banqueiros (como os do BIP e da Torralta), se deixavam impunes fascistas e reaccionários dentro do Exército e da máquina do Estado.

Tal como no 28 de Setembro, mais uma vez no 11 de Março se tornou claro que os trabalhadores só podem confiar nas suas próprias forças; que só pela autodefesa, só pela união dos trabalhadores em luta de trabalho os trabalhadores fardados (soldados e marinheiros) é possível lutar eficazmente contra a reacção capitalista, fazer frente a qualquer intentona reaccionária. E por isso é preciso continuar a luta: — pelo saneamento dos fascistas e reaccionários nas empresas, quartéis, etc.;

— pelo desarmamento imediato das forças repressivas do capital (P.S.P. e G.N.R.);

— pela proibição de todos os partidos e grupos fascistas (C.D.S., P.D.C., P.T.D.P., P.C.S.D., etc.);

— pelo armar das comissões de trabalhadores, com poderes sindicais;

— pelo apoio intransigente às lutas dos soldados, marinheiros nas esquadras, pelo reconhecimento dos seus direitos, de reunião, de expressão, e sindicalização, e organização política autónoma dentro dos quartéis.

— pela formação de comités de soldados e marinheiros, eleitos, que se liguem regionalmente aos sindicatos e às comissões de trabalhadores no sentido de tornar possíveis cada vez mais, uma resposta a novos golpes reaccionários a nível nacional, por parte do movimento operário no seu conjunto.

2) Contra a exploração e a sabotagem económica dos capitalistas!

Contra o plano-burla de reconstrução do capital!

Lutemos pela defesa das condições de vida e de emprego dos trabalhadores!

Pela nacionalização das grandes empresas e pelo controlo da produção pelos próprios trabalhadores!

Trata-se de um plano-burla, de um plano que pretende fazer pagar à classe operária toda a crise do capital, de um plano que já foi ultrapassado pelas recentes medidas sobre as nacionalizações de um plano que a luta proletária de classe atirará definitiva-

mente para o caixote do lixo.

Nesta situação de inflação que conhecemos só um **salário mínimo de 8000\$00** servirá aos trabalhadores. Exijamos também que o patrão nos pague o 13.º mês. Temos de lutar para que sejam os lucros dos patrões a pagar a inflação. Para isso exijamos a permanente adequação dos salários aos preços, com base em índices calculados por técnicos da nossa confiança. A isto se chama a **Escala Móvel de Salários**.

Os patrões não deverão fazer nenhum despedimento! Caso tentem, a resposta dos trabalhadores será, sem dúvida, a da luta enérgica em defesa dos seus camaradas: a greve até à reintegração de todos os despedidos! Contra o desemprego, lutemos pela semana nacional de trabalho de 40 horas, pela **Escala Móvel das Horas de Trabalho**, isto é pela distribuição do trabalho existente por todos os braços disponíveis.

É necessário evitar que o capitalismo sobreviva à custa da degradação das condições de vida das massas. Exijamos uma **Providência eficiente**, que sejam os próprios trabalhadores a controlar. Exijamos uma assistência médica e medicamentos gratuitos. Exijamos todo o salário em caso de doença, reforma ou invalidez. Pela reforma aos 50 anos. Lutemos por uma habitação condigna. Por uma planificação social da construção. Não hesitemos em ocupar casas desabitadas. Exijamos uma mais justa distribuição das casas existentes. Lutemos por transportes mais cómodos e rápidos. Lutemos para que o tempo de transporte seja incluído no tempo de trabalho. Pelo controlo dos trabalhadores sobre os meios de transporte. Por uma política de produção que dê prioridade ao transporte público.

Acabemos com a sobreexploração do trabalho das mulheres e dos jovens — **a trabalho igual salário igual! Não à divisão por categorias!**

Contra as manobras de sabotagem económica dos capitalistas é necessário estabelecer o controlo dos trabalhadores sobre as matérias-primas, a contabilidade e os estoques das empresas. É preciso impor a nacionalização de todas as empresas que ameacem falência ou despedimentos colectivos assim como dos bens de todos os capitalistas envolvidos em actos de sabotagem económica. Mas é preciso também generalizar o controlo dos trabalhadores ao domínio da segurança

e previdência sociais, saúde, habitação e transportes.

Porém, a sabotagem económica dos capitalistas só funcionará com a quebra do seu poder económico; e a única forma de atacar radicalmente esse poder económico dos capitalistas é a nacionalização sem indemnizações das grandes empresas capitalistas privadas e o seu funcionamento sob controlo dos trabalhadores.

3) Contra a divisão dos trabalhadores! Pela unificação e generalização das lutas da classe operária! Reforcemos a nossa organização autónoma de combate! Viva a frente única da classe operária!

Nas suas tentativas de dividir a classe operária (para melhorar a exploração) os capitalistas utilizam toda a série de manobras. Não só intensificam os despedimentos, multiplicam as categorias dentro da fábrica, diferenciam o salário segundo o sexo, a idade, etc., mas também tentam sabotar as lutas dos trabalhadores e isolar e dividir as suas organizações de combate.

É por isso que é preciso reforçar a unidade sindical, combater as tentativas do patronato em criar sindicatos paralelos de fura-greves (o chamado pluralismo sindical); mas é também necessário impor e defender a democracia no interior dos sindicatos, lutar pelo direito à formação de tendências sindicais e de estas se reunirem e defenderem as suas posições no seio dos sindicatos. E esta luta pela democracia proletária nos sindicatos é tanto mais importante quanto as direcções reformistas pretendem através da burocratização das estruturas sindicais, convertê-las em organismos de colaboração de classes com o patronato. Consideramos por isso necessário organizar à escala nacional uma **tendência sindical de luta anticapitalista**, como meio de organizar eficazmente o combate à exploração capitalista e à hegemonia reformista no seio da Internacional, construir um sindicalismo de combate, através da criação de sindicatos por ramos de indústria, de uma Central Sindical Única de todos os trabalhadores.

Porém, outros organismos independentes, além dos sindicatos, são criados pelos trabalhadores nas suas próprias lutas: é o caso das comissões de trabalhadores, dos comités de vigilância de preços ou das comissões de saneamento, dos comités de soldados, das comissões de moradores, dos comités de vigilância e de luta antifascista, etc..

É necessário desenvolver e generalizar estes exemplos de luta independente, combinar e coordenar estas diferentes formas de organização, e não opô-las entre si.

Finalmente, a luta pela unificação e contra a divisão dos trabalhadores, a luta pelo reforço das organizações de combate da classe operária é também uma luta contra a colaboração com os capitalistas e com os seus políticos, a luta pela frente única da classe operária.

4) Pela aliança do proletariado e do campesinato pobre contra a exploração e a opressão capitalistas!

Operários e camponeses — unidos vencerão!

A dominação capitalista sobre as massas trabalhadoras da cidade e do campo fez dos industriais e banqueiros, dos grandes capitalistas agrários e dos latifundiários, dos grandes comerciantes de produtos agrícolas, o inimigo comum dos operários e dos camponeses pobres.

5) Pela aliança do proletariado e do campesinato pobre contra a exploração e opressão capitalista!

Operários, camponeses — Unidos vencerão!

A dominação capitalista sobre as massas trabalhadoras da cidade e do campo faz dos industriais e banqueiros, dos grandes capitalistas de terras e dos latifundiários, dos grandes comerciantes dos produtos agrícolas o inimigo comum dos operários fabris e rurais e dos camponeses pobres!

Há que estender esta luta por toda a parte. Há que tornar conta do produto da terra que se trabalha e organizar com os outros camaradas camponeses a venda no mercado sem passar pelos intermediários que exploram operários e camponeses. Há que organizar a cooperação no cultivo das terras, organizar cooperativas de produção e venda dos produtos! É preciso uma reforma agrária que torne o camponês pobre senhor do produto da terra que trabalha! Mas isso não basta! São necessários créditos, são necessários adubos, fertilizantes máquinas de baixo preço! É necessário experimentar novas culturas ou modificar os processos de cultivo. Para adquirir isto tudo são precisas de facto as cooperativas mas é necessário também que os bancos deem créditos, que os adubos, os fertilizantes e as máquinas agrícolas baixem de preço, que o estado forneça apoio técnico para o estudo de novas culturas ou para a experimentação de novos processos de cultivo.

Para isso é necessária também a nacionalização das fábricas que produzem adubos e fertilizantes, das empresas que fabricam tractores, debulhadoras, etc..!

Contudo não poderá ser um governo como o actual, em que estão representantes dos grandes capitalistas (como os do P.P.D.) que poderá tomar medidas contra os próprios capitalistas, industriais e grandes agrários.

5) Pela saída dos ministros capitalistas!

Por um Governo dos trabalhadores! Lutar, vencer, operários ao poder!

As implicações do grande capital no golpe fascista de 11 de Março, as campanhas antioperárias dos partidos da burguesia e as manobras de sabotagem económica dos capitalistas, que prepararam o terreno económico, social e político para o golpe, tornam claro para todos os trabalhadores que só há uma solução para defender os direitos económicos, sociais, sindicais e políticos dos trabalhadores: esmagar a reacção, quebrar o poder económico e político da reacção capitalista.

É essa a vontade claramente afirmada por centenas de milhares de trabalhadores que nas suas lutas nas empresas e nas ruas, exigem a nacionalização das grandes empresas, o contro-

lo da produção pelos próprios produtores e a proibição dos partidos reaccionários e o desarmamento e dissolução das forças repressivas do capital.

De toda a maneira, esse governo de trabalhadores deverá constituído na base das organizações operárias que aceitem como programa o seguinte:

1) Expropriação sem indemnização das empresas industriais, comerciais e agrícolas mais importantes, bem como dos grandes meios de comunicação social (TV, Rádio, Cinema, Imprensa); seu funcionamento sob controlo dos trabalhadores.

2) Atribuição ao Governo dos trabalhadores de todo o sistema de crédito e criação de um banco único de Estado.

3) Exclusivo para o Governo dos trabalhadores de todo o comércio com os países estrangeiros, de forma a combater o boicote e a agressão económica por parte das potências imperialistas.

4) Apoio ao campesinato pobre pelo estabelecimento de um sistema de crédito e de apoio técnico, por uma reforma agrária que liberte o camponês pobre de todas as dívidas e hipotecas, e no que respeita aos rendeiros das terras nacionalizadas, os torne senhores do produto da terra que trabalham.

5) Expropriação de toda a indústria de guerra.

6) Criação de um organismo central de planificação económica integrado e controlado pelas organizações de massas (comissões de trabalhadores, comités de indústria, sindicatos, cooperativas, etc.).

7) Escala móvel de salários e das horas de trabalho, imediata criação de condições para o estabelecimento de uma previdência, assistência e ensino gratuito; redução drástica dos preços dos transportes colectivos, da energia e da habitação.

8) Supressão de toda a legislação que protege os interesses dos capitalistas e substituição dos tribunais burgueses por órgãos judiciais eleitos democraticamente pelos trabalhadores.

9) Participação das organizações de massas em todos os escalões e instâncias de gestão, da vida social, estas organizações de massas deverão estar estruturadas e representadas segundo as normas da democracia proletária, o que exige o carácter electivo de todas as instâncias, a prestação regular de contas e o permanente controlo e revogabilidade pela base relativamente a todos os delegados eleitos; a remuneração das funções de todos estes delegados não deverá exceder o salário médio de um operário.

10) Armamento geral dos trabalhadores e substituição do Exército e da Polícia por milícias operárias e organismos voluntários de vigilância, integrados e controlados pelos trabalhadores.

11) Saída de Portugal da NATO, fim do Pacto Ibérico, revogação de todos os tratados com o imperialismo, abolição da diplomacia secreta e lançamento de uma política externa, de apoio anti-imperialista às antigas colónias e de apoio revolucionário e internacionalista às lutas dos trabalhadores de todo o mundo, contra a Europa dos exploradores e dos monopólios, luta pelos Estados Unidos Socialistas da Europa.

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Speaker ... Wayne Roberts (editor of FORWARD)

Amnesty for Morgentaler

by Bill Saunders

The jailing of Doctor Henry Morgentaler for violation of the abortion law and the subsequent refusal of the federal cabinet to grant him amnesty stands as the greatest outrage and hypocrisy possible to conceive in this International Women's Year.

This law, Section 251 of the Criminal Code, forbids an abortion except when, in the opinion of a Therapeutic Abortion Committee of an approved hospital, "continuation of the pregnancy would or would likely to endanger her (the woman's) life or health."

No less than the minister of health and welfare himself, the "Honorable" Marc Lalonde, admitted in the house that less than one third of the hospitals in Canada (all heavily subsidized from the

On April 14 a group of prominent individuals who have long been associated with humanitarian causes formed an initiating body for an Amnesty for Dr. Morgentaler Committee. This group, chaired by Doctor Gustavo Tolentino, is now seeking sponsors and aid

The committee is setting out to draw together all the mounting public indignation against the jailing of Morgentaler, in order to build a powerful movement that can win his release.

To help this project contact Dr. Tolentino at 99 Avenue Road, Suite 701, Toronto on phone 416-962-3845.

public purse) have neglected or refused to even set up such committees. Thus even abortions that the law deigns to allow are denied hundreds of thousands of women across the country.

Dr. Morgentaler's imprisonment makes Canada the butt of ridicule and contempt in world public opinion. It has made further mockery of the Bill of Rights and civil liberties and has called forth protests from other countries against this gross miscarriage of justice — this insult to the dignity of woman and to all the people of Canada.

Morgentaler's jailing for one and a half years is the culmination of a vendetta against Dr. Morgentaler himself and a calculated and malicious blow against women's rights by obscurantist forces across the country entrenched in the church, the legal system and the government.

The hypocrisy of this cabal knows

US puppets routed in Indochina

By Paul Kane

With the fall of the Nguyen Van Thieu regime in Saigon the massive 10 year US imperialist aggression against the Indochinese liberation struggle has collapsed.

In a matter of weeks the world has witnessed the utter disintegration of the US puppet regimes in South Vietnam, in Cambodia and now Laos, and the collapse and rout of the US super-equipped armies before a massive sweep of the Khmer Rouge insurgents and the forces of the Provisional Revolutionary Government/National Liberation Front. In many areas, scarcely a shot was fired as the Saigon-based cabal disintegrated and their troops fled.

As late as April 10 US President Ford was pressing the US Congress for more funds in an attempt to continue Washington's efforts to crush the Vietnamese, which saw at one time as many as 540,000 US troops in Vietnam and witnessed the dropping of more bombs than were dropped by all sides during World War II and the Korean war combined. Now, Washington has gnomishly been driven to write off this shameful effort as a complete loss.

This body blow to US and world imperialism and stunning victory of world humanity is first and foremost a tribute to the peasantry and working class of Vietnam, to their indomitable heroism, to their incredible determination to resist, to struggle and to win — no matter what the price. It is so a tribute to those forces across the globe that mobilized in popular mass actions of every form in country after country against US aggression and the complicity of their governments in the counter-revolutionary struggle against the Vietnamese, and particularly is it a tribute to the people of the United States.

The US anti-Vietnam war movement which mobilized massive



IT'S UP TO YOU, NOW!

How Morgentaler was imprisoned

Toronto psychiatrist, Doctor Gustavo Tolentino, steering committee member of Doctors for Repeal of the Abortion Law (DRAL), long time activist for repeal of the abortion law and an active defender of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, discusses with Jane Goldman of FORWARD his eyewitness observations of Dr. Morgentaler's giving himself up to the Montreal police on March 27/75, the man, the issue, and the challenge to obtain his pardon or amnesty.

Q. Doctor Tolentino, what was it like in Montreal just prior to and after the Supreme Court brought down its decision to send Dr.

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Dr. Gustavo Tolentino

a welcoming group to meet him at Dorval and a demonstration in front of the East-End and hand himself in. I, accompanied by his companion Dr. Mireille and his son Abraham, there was an enthusiastic was a bitter one for all of us. In a few hours or is car for the last time from the airport to his e clothes and personal effects. At his lawyer's inference before heading for the police station. on 70 or so supporters, carrying placards, Ivercome, in sub-zero weather, watched as he on. He had received some flowers and many e, raised two fingers in a victory signal, and e were beginning to look at each and thinking appeared. In all the commotion he had either forgotten or wanted to give his dearly loved companion, Dr. Mireille Lafortune, one last hug and kiss. Someone yelled, "Reprieve, Reprieve" and many of us laughed, but only for a short moment.

As we saw him go back in we again faced the stark reality of what had continued on page 2

demonstrations of hundreds of thousands in the streets of American cities and towns around the central demand of withdrawal of all US troops, that overcame CIA, FBI infiltration, provocations and official harassment at every level, played a key role in the struggle. It was instrumental in the resignation of President Johnson and the final withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam itself.

An entire generation of Canadians learned some of the basic facts of Canadian politics from the anti-war actions in Canadian cities against Ottawa's criminal complicity in US imperialism's war. continued on page 7

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May 10 protest grows as militant IWY action

by Ellie Kirzner

The biggest irony of International Women's Year is clearly the fact that despite the federal government's empty tribute to its women citizens, the designation of this special year was won through the pressure of women's unceasing demands on the government for their rights. Now many women have decided that it is high time we recaptured the initiative of IWY from a government whose only interest in it is to buy our silence, and reinterpret it the way they never

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Amnesty for Morgentaler

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no bounds. They know full well that every year tens of thousands of Canadian women will seek abortions no matter what, rather than bear unwanted children. As a result, the present law makes criminals of these women and causes all women particularly working class women without means or connections to risk death or injury at the hands of incompetent butchers.

The government had hoped that doctors and women would keep their mouths shut and accept this rotten situation. Doctor Morgentaler did not.

He has openly opposed this iniquitous anti-woman law both in word and in deed consistently since 1967. He has thrown his entire career and his very freedom into the struggle for this most basic of women's rights — a woman's right to choose. He has declared that he will continue the struggle jailed or not.

But he must not be allowed to languish there as a persistent and stark warning to other doctors and nurses who true to their knowledge and responsibility might respond to women's needs. The jailing of Doctor Morgentaler makes abortion the central issue, that it truly is, in the actions of this International Women's Year. The struggle against this law is now the struggle to set Morgentaler free.

May action

continued from page 1

meant — as a protest.

For increasing numbers of women, IWY is becoming a time for active struggle against those aspects of government policy that make WHY NOT a ridiculous mockery. From the workshops at the International Women's Day celebration at city hall in Toronto, to the panel discussions at McMaster Women's Day in Hamilton to the upcoming Victoria actions of the BC Federation of Women, that unmistakeable anger and frustration is expressing itself.

One of the most promising actions emerging is the demonstration of the May 10th March Committee in Toronto on the following demands: equal pay for work of equal value, universal access to quality childcare, equal rights in family and property law, safe and effective birth control for all, remove abortion from the Criminal Code, free Dr. Morgentaler.

The Committee has issued a call across the country urging groups to make use of May 10 as a day of protest in their centres, and is expecting areas in Southern Ontario to join the Toronto demonstration at one o'clock at Queen's Park. Endorsements have been sought from a wide array of union locals, women's groups, and social service agencies, and already an impressive list has been accumulated, among them the Mayor's Task Force on the Status of Women, the Canadian Association for the Repeal of the Abortion Law, and the recent Metro Toronto NDP Conference.

Excitement has been generated by this response to the government's useless IWY hoopla, as letters of support are pouring in and groups are planning their participation in the march. As the widely circulated leaflet promises: "United we can win what we need to make every year a Women's Year."

For further information call or write: YWCA, 80 Woodlawn Ave. East, Toronto 961-8100.

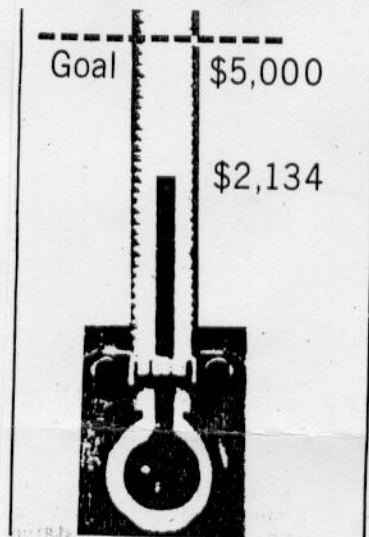
Fund drive on the way to top \$5,000

It has often been said that money makes the world go round — usually an expression of cynicism about the reality of life under this capitalist society. We're not cynics — we're confirmed optimists. But the fact is that money is the lubricant that makes the press go round that produces **Forward**.

Our scoreboard tells us that we are half-way into the fund drive period with four weeks to go. So far, \$2,134 or 47 per cent of our \$5,000 goal has been pledged — just short of the half-way mark for pledges.

We are counting on you, our readers to bring us up to our target so that the press will continue to roll out **Forward**.

Much of the money we have so far raised is from the same people who volunteer their time and energy to put out the paper each issue and see that it is circulated as widely as possible — in between their NDP activity, student struggles, feminist



campaigns, trade union activities, etc.

We are confident that **Forward** can play an invaluable role in introducing socialist ideas into all the areas of the radicalization because the press can speak better and more fully and consistently than any of us can as individuals. Therefore, all that we do to build **Forward** is necessary and essential to spreading the influence of socialist ideas.

But we need assistance from you, our readership. Only your donations and support will get us to our \$5,000 goal.

In the four weeks that remain, we need to get another \$2,866. We know that you can do it because you did it last time. Help us move **Forward**! Send us in your cheque or money order payable to **Forward Drive**.

It's the best and most significant investment you will ever make because it is an investment which expresses confidence that humanity has a future.

How Morgentaler was imprisoned

Toronto psychiatrist, Doctor Gustavo Tolentino, steering committee member of Doctors for Repeal of the Abortion Law (DRAL), long time activist for repeal of the abortion law and an active defender of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, discusses with Jane Goldman of **FORWARD** his eyewitness observations of Dr. Morgentaler's giving himself up to the Montreal police on March 27/75, the man, the issue, and the challenge to obtain his pardon or amnesty.

Q. Doctor Tolentino, what was it like in Montreal just prior to and after the Supreme Court brought down its decision to send Dr. Morgentaler to jail,

A. Julie, my wife, and I, had a date to have supper with Doctor Morgentaler while we were holidaying in Montreal, on Wednesday March 26. But he told us that he had decided, at the last moment, to go to Toronto on Wednesday morning to wait the Supreme Court decision with members of the Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Law (CARAL) and DRAL, and hold a press conference there. When he landed in Toronto he was given the shocking news. Meanwhile, in Montreal, we joined

his supporters in organizing a welcoming group to meet him at Dorval airport Thursday morning and a demonstration in front of the East-End police station where he would hand himself in.

At Dorval when he appeared, accompanied by his companion Dr. Mireille Lafortune, his brother Mike and his son Abraham, there was an enthusiastic applause and yet the moment was a bitter one for all of us. In a few hours or less he'd be in jail. He drove his car for the last time from the airport to his home. There he picked up some clothes and personal effects. At his lawyer's he had his last formal press conference before heading for the police station.

In front of the police station 70 or so supporters, carrying placards, banners and singing We Shall Overcome, in sub-zero weather, watched as he walked up the steps with his son. He had received some flowers and many tearful embraces when he turned, raised two fingers in a victory signal, and entered the building. Just as we were beginning to look at each and thinking what next must be done, he reappeared. In all the commotion he had either forgotten or wanted to give his dearly loved companion, Dr. Mireille Lafortune, one last hug and kiss. Someone yelled, "Reprieve, Reprieve" and many of us laughed, but only for a short moment.

As we saw him go back in we again faced the stark reality of what had continued on page 2



Dr. Gustavo Tolentino

Tolentino interviewed on Morgentaler's jailing

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happened. The Supreme Court, with the obvious approval of the Trudeau government, had chosen the day or two before the Easter and Passover weekend to jail him, when many people were either going away or spending the time with their families. We thought it was good he had decided to be in Toronto for the Court decision, where he did have a good press conference, instead of risking being picked up in his Montreal home without any press coverage or mobilized protest and support. The man who had performed all those abortions with the safest technique available because he thought it was his moral obligation to women in need, was now in jail. In jail for 18 months even though he had been found "not guilty" by a jury of his peers!

Q. What do you think has been the general public reaction?

A. I think there is a wide and growing sentiment of disapproval, mostly with what is seen as a "travesty of Justice". The Toronto Star and Globe and Mail editorials and cartoons are a reflection of this. There are some significant individual examples, like the car dealer who must have spent over a thousand dollars for an ad in the Toronto Sun to express his dismay

over the Court ruling. Then the woman who wrote to the editor in yesterday's Star saying she agrees with Minister of Justice Otto Lang's opposition to abortion but feels that the jury decision should have stood. Then in today's Star we see where former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker calls on the cabinet to give Dr. Morgentaler his freedom because the Supreme Court decision was a serious retrogressive step. The federal government-appointed Advisory Council on the Status of Women, as well as the Ontario government-appointed Status of Women Council, composed of prominent and concerned men and women, have certainly given those governments advice. They have just asked the government to release Dr. Morgentaler at once. The Toronto May 10 March Committee has made the freeing Dr. Morgentaler one of its six demands.

Q. I notice, Dr. Tolentino, that you are wearing a "Why Not! Amnesty for Dr. Morgentaler" button. Is there any relationship between the government's "Why Not!" campaign and Dr. Morgentaler's conviction?

A. Yes! Dr. Morgentaler's jailing points to the hypocrisy of the federal government. Its "Why Not!" campaign, I believe, is an attempt to make us think that it cares about women's rights, when in fact it maintains an unjust and dangerous law and jails Dr. Morgentaler for challenging it, and for being such an outspoken opponent of it since it was enacted in 1969. This is the crunch point. That if Dr. Morgentaler had done the abortions quietly he would be a free and a rich man today. But instead he campaigned for abortion to be like all other medical procedures, a private matter between a patient and her medical advisor.

He first did this in 1967 when he presented a brief to the House of Commons Health Committee. In May, 1970, when the Abortion Caravan arrived in Ottawa from Vancouver, Dr. Morgentaler spoke to a rally of 500 people on Parliament Hill in support of a woman's right to choose whether she wanted an abortion, a medically competent, safe and of course a legal abortion. The following month, June, 1970 he was arrested and charged for performing an illegal abortion. I could go on giving you examples of Dr. Morgentaler's consistent support of the women's movement but the point that needs to be emphasized is that he is in jail because of his outspoken opposition to this unjust and cruel law. "Why Not! Repeal." is the other button we should all be wearing.

Q. Have you been in touch with Dr. Morgentaler? And if so how is he?

A. Yes, I have, through one phone conversation and letters. He says that the worst of all is to be closed in, in a cell with bars and the loss of freedom, poor sleeping conditions, and many other things. And yet, he says, his morale and spirit are excellent. He's had a few bad days with what is called the "shock of incarceration", but he says he's over that now.

He requests that friends write to him since it is one of his few pleasures while in jail. He's in Bordeaux Jail, Gouin Blvd. W., Montreal, Quebec. Of course he has been branded with a prison number which goes after his name. It is: No. 118658. I would urge your readers to write to him about what is happening in their part of the country for his amnesty and abortion law repeal.

Q. Could you elaborate on what should be done and what is being done for his amnesty?

A. Well, firstly, we should raise the issue of his amnesty or pardon or release or freedom (we shouldn't get hung up on what we call it, I happen to prefer the term amnesty) as a single demand directed at the cabinet of the federal government. Just the issue of amnesty so that we can get the broadest response possible which is required to accomplish the one thing we want most: to get him out of jail. We need and we want people like those I told you of earlier in the interview, i.e. regardless of whether they agree with what Dr. Morgentaler has done or with the cause he defends. This demand should always be made publicly and preferably from organizations that represent large numbers of people, e.g. political parties, unions, schools, churches, civil liberties groups, professional groups, etc. Prominent individuals, persons like John Diefenbaker, should be approached for sponsorship of any committee set up to obtain amnesty. In Toronto we are meeting in a day or two to form just such a committee. This should be done right across the country, without delay. We have very little time. Dr. Morgentaler is expected to appear in court May 5 for a decision on what the court will do with his other 12 charges. His co-workers, Nurse Cornax and Doctor Macabee, still have charges outstanding against them. A powerful amnesty movement for Dr. Morgentaler could cause court officials to drop the rest of the charges against Morgentaler and stop any moves against Cornax and Macabee. I believe if we work hard we should have no trouble organizing that wide sentiment that exists for his amnesty. Let us remember one of the last statements Dr. Morgentaler made before he was jailed. He said, "I hope this (Court decision) will spur people into action, for removal of abortion from the Criminal Code. I hope enough people will feel indignant about the decision."

The debate widens on the nature of Canada

--from the Mandel contribution, to Warnock, *This Magazine*

By Ross Dowson

(from *Forward*, April 1975)

What is Canada? Is it an imperialist power? And if so, is it, if only on a lower rank, in the same sense that the United States, Britain, or France are imperialist powers? Is this its basic characteristic? Is the domination of the Canadian economy by US monopoly capitalism irrelevant to the politics of Canadian socialists? Can they content themselves with following the same general strategy as say that advanced by their US and British counterparts against their respective ruling classes?

These questions have been debated in the Canadian left some ten years now and are once again brought forth but taken to a higher level by Jack Warnock in the March-April issue of *This Magazine* in his article "Canada Sub-Imperialism — a reply." Warnock is author of *Partner to Behemoth — the military policy of a satellite Canada*, and, with Bruce Kidd, a co-editor of *Canadian Dimension*, the most widely circulated journal in the Canadian Left.

The occasion of Warnock's contribution was the publication, in the previous issue of *This Magazine* of an article by Jamie Swift and Tim Draimin. *Forward* noted in its February issue, in almost the same words as Warnock, that the Swift-Draimin article is "an important contribution to the debate on the nature of Canada and its role in the world political arena."

As late as a little more than three years ago the chief axis of the debate in the Left was whether Canada had in fact, after having long been a colony of Britain, now actually become a colony of the United States.

Ernest Mandel, the eminent Belgian Marxist economist, on a cross-Canada lecture tour at that time was persistently confronted with that question from the floor.

Earlier in his work *Europe and America* (1967), commenting on the rise of US investment in the industrialized nations and noting that none of the industrialized nations "is currently being taken over wholesale by American capital," Mandel added a footnote. "It is true that there is an exception: Canada, a modern industrial nation where ownership of an absolute majority of the non-agricultural means of production has fallen to the USA."

In *New Left Review* (December 1969), in an article "The Law of Uneven Development" he further commented "there is not the slightest evidence to show that US imperialism controls more than 10 percent of the industrial means of production and much less the financial means of exchange of any other imperialist power (with the exception of Canada, which is indeed a border case). There is for that reason not the slightest evidence that these powers (France, Britain, or Italy, not to speak of Japan or

West Germany) have lost their basic independence as imperialist powers, and have become US semi-colonies."

Earlier in the same article Mandel wrote that "Such semi-colonial nations only arise when in fact **the key industries and banks in the country are owned or controlled by foreign capitalists** and when for that reason the State itself fundamentally protects the interests of the foreign imperialist class, as against those of the 'native' bourgeoisie. That is the situation in Greece, Brazil, Ghana or Iran today" (*emphasis – E.M.*)

In this essay of some five years ago, while declaring Canada an exception to other imperialist countries in relationship to the US, such as to qualify it as a "border case," Mandel does not record why he thought that it had not slipped over the border which separates it from Greece or Brazil which he designated as semi-colonies of the US. However on his late 1971 Canadian lecture tour he had occasion to clarify his opinion.

In a lecture arranged by Mel Watkins at the University of Toronto, in response to the question whether Canada is a colony, he noted the phenomenon of the penetration of one imperialist power into the economy of another — a process of interpenetration — as being "a world wide development today." Canada, he said "is only the most extreme case of something that is going on everywhere." [1]

He said in passing that the formulation "imperialized imperialist country" has been projected by the American Marxist economist Martin Nicolaus "with a certain justification, but I think it's just a nice formula."

Noting the interpenetration of Japanese and US capital, he stated that "you have another type which is the Canadian situation.... in which the weight of foreign capital is growing so quickly in the national economy that a certain loss of political independence of decision could come about. We cannot exclude that. This is a question of quantitative judgment. Whether this arrives when 50 percent of capital is in foreign hands or when 45 or 40 percent of capital is in foreign hands, we don't know, and this should not be seen in too mechanical a way.

"But in that case would the country become a semi-colonial country? I again say no, because the nature of a semi-colonial country is structural. It is not just a question of who owns capital. It is a structural question. It is a question of the relationship between industry and agriculture, average productivity of labor in industry and agriculture and so on and so forth.

"And what would happen in that case — and there is a lot of indication that certain persons, who I will not name, are considering this eventuality? What would happen in that case is the formation of a bigger union, an absorption of Canada into a kind of North American Common Market area.

"So the process of economic integration on an inter-national scale is something completely different from the process of transformation into a semi-colony. If you

transform a country into a semi-colony you freeze economic inequality. You freeze a big difference in average productivity of labor and average income. If you have inter-national economic integration the opposite happens. You eliminate differences in productivity of labor. You tend to eliminate differences in income, welfare and so forth and so on.

"That is one of the reasons why capitalists in Hawaii and in Alaska, and I might make the prediction that some day capitalists in Canada too, would not be hostile at all to an integration into the United States because they see that as a way of reducing the differences in income, welfare, productivity of labor, access to raw materials, to capital etc. etc.

"So a process of inter-national. integration is something entirely different from the process of transformation of a country into a semi-colony which means something very concrete from the point of view of economic underdevelopment.

"I might add, I don't want to go into all the paradoxes of the Canadian situation, but it is not by accident, that the capitalist class of the underdeveloped part of Canada, the capitalist class of Quebec is the least hostile to an integration of the Canadian economy with the United States economy, exactly for the reasons which I have just indicated, because for them such an integration is a means of overcoming their regional underdevelopment, and not at all a fear of over-exploitation. They feel already over-exploited in Canada as it is. They think it cannot be worse for them. If we are integrated into a bigger area, they think, well, we might profit from this integration more than by non-integration.

"I do not draw any political conclusions from this from everything that I have said, and I am certainly not advocating integration of Canada into the United States. That is not the question. But I have just tried to indicate some certain basic differences in judgment which you must make on a certain number of these trends going on today in the capitalist world economy."

Several days later Mandel addressed a large meeting at McMaster University in Hamilton following which he was again asked whether Canada was a colony of the United States. He answered in part: "I do not think that Canada is a colony because I do not think that you can determine the structure, the social and economic structure of a country by formal criteria — the weight of foreign capital etc. The situation of Canada is a peculiar one. I think that the best way to describe it is with the formulation of the American Marxist Nicolaus with whom I have many disagreements but who on this particular question has coined a very nice phrase.

"He has spoken of an 'imperialized imperialism' and I think this hits the nail on the head. Canada is an imperialist country. That seems obvious to me. Ask the people of the Caribbean, where there is a lot of Canadian capital invested. They will not have the slightest doubt about the imperialist character of Canada. And if you were to ask anyone in India, in Brazil or in Algeria whether he thinks that the economic structure of Canada is similar, or the living conditions are similar to the conditions he is living under,

he also will not have the slightest doubt. He will answer, No. You do not have a social-economic structure in Canada which is the structure of a colonial or a semi-colonial country. But you have a peculiar situation of an imperialist country which has itself become the object of a huge influx of foreign capital . . . "

While some sectors of the Canadian left still hold to the view that Canada is a colony, notably such Maoist currents as the Canadian Liberation Movement, who have taken on the stance of nationalists and even chauvinists, both the Warnock and Swift-Draimin contributions take the discussion forward and onto a higher plane.

Warnock makes available material which for some is not exactly new but for the first time has been pulled together and presented publicly for the consideration of the entire left.

Noting government figures to the effect that "Canadian capital is in control of agriculture, banking and finance (not shown), construction, wholesale trade, retail trade and services", he challenges that only 31.2 per cent of assets of the food and beverage industry are foreign-owned, "is a gross distortion" on the basis of research that he is presently doing.

In our opinion serious research also challenges the figures that Canadian capital is in control of banking and finance, the Bank Act notwithstanding.

Warnock refers to research by Harold Bronson of the University of Saskatchewan which has shown that in the Caribbean "Canadian capital is clearly subordinate to British and American capital and it is British and American political influence which dominate the area." Swift-Draimin see Canada "through its extensive investments in both Latin America and the Caribbean, laundering American capital through Canadian-based multinational corporations" and "as a middle-sized intermediary state which acts to expand and protect US interests beyond our (Canada's) national boundaries."

Warnock too recognizes that "Canadian direct imperialism abroad exists, without a doubt." He dismisses the views of the League for Socialist Action. "There is little to be gained from arguing in a simple minded way," he says; "that the choice we face is one of finding Canada either a colony or an imperialist power (see for example League for Socialist Action '*Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism*' in *International Socialist Review* (SWP-New York) July-August 1974). [2]

"... when one objectively looks at all the relevant facts," he says, "it is impossible to conclude that Canada is basically an imperialist power." "The fact is that our government can only act as a junior partner to American imperialism

. . . The degree to which the Canadian government and Canadian-based firms practice imperialism must be weighed against the fact of foreign ownership and domination of Canada. Any strategy for socialist change in Canada must objectively assess this situation ... we simply cannot ignore the fact that every Canadian faces the contradictions of

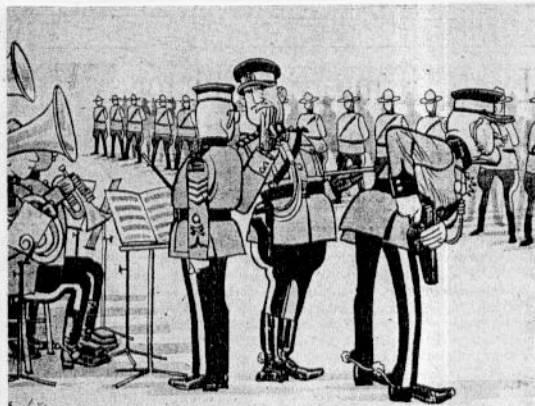
foreign domination every day in his or her life, in many ways. If this central characteristic of our society is not openly confronted by the left then the left will remain obscure and ineffective."

In an extended article in the October 1974 issue of *Forward* we had occasion to summarize that Canada is imperialist, but not so much from the investments of private Canadian capital abroad, which are quite small, but primarily "by the fact that with an advanced capitalist economy it is an integral part of the world-wide imperialist economic system The character of Canadian capitalism as an imperialist 'power', the locale and nature of its investments abroad, the fact that it is only a world power as a front or a very junior partner of the world's super-imperialist power, US capitalism, is due not only to Canada's relative weakness in relation to the US-colossus. It is determined above all by the facts of US capitalism's domination of Canadian capitalism within the borders of Canada itself."

NOTES

[1] The following quotations are taken from the transcript of the tapes recorded at the Toronto and Hamilton meetings. The transcript has not been edited by Mandel.

[2] Following the convention that adopted this document, the League for Socialist Action, which until then had encompassed all Canadian Trotskyists, suffered a three-way split — some continuing as the LSA with *Labor Challenge*, and the formation of the Revolutionary Marxist Group publishing the *Old Mole*, and the Socialist League publishing *Forward*.



RCMP ON PARADE 'PLAY THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER'. THE INSPECTOR WANTS TO SEE WHO JUMPS TO ATTENTION.

Ottawa admits RCMP errand boy to FBI & CIA

By Alex Roy

"It's ludicrous that, at a time when Congressional hearings in the United States are trying to lift the veil of secrecy around security operations, we're trying to tack it down," said Tory MP J. Clark, in a parliamentary exchange over the withholding of information from the public. Many Canadians have reacted with surprise and indignation to recent exposures of official secrets which reveal the extent to which "our" state apparatus has been reduced to the status of Texas Rangers of the North. The government indeed has much to hide.

In effect, even decisions on immigration into Canada may be made by foreign intelligence agencies, particularly the CIA. Following the barbaric CIA-backed military coup in Chile, when thousands of victims of reactionary terror sought refuge in Canada, the Canadian government distinguished itself by its disgraceful treatment of them. By refusing entry to all but a

token handful, it effectively signed the death or torture warrants of the rest. If this policy seemed puzzling at the time, in view of Canada's "humanitarian" image, the reason for it is now abundantly clear. On February 10th, Solicitor General Allmand admitted that applicants for refuge in this country had been screened by the CIA and British intelligence. Those who could not meet the exacting requirements of these foreign spy services were dutifully blacklisted by Canadian authorities!

To this day, long after the Ford "amnesty" plan has been in effect, and more than two years after the Paris agreements to end (!) the Vietnam war, the RCMP and the immigration authorities, with "an almost breathless eagerness" which aroused the scorn of even the *Globe & Mail*, continue to supply confidential information to the FBI on American military service evaders living here. So conscientious are these errand-boys of the US police that they supply information on naturalized Canadian citizens who have broken no Canadian law—information not even requested by the Bureau!

The communications branch of the National Research Council is alleged to have spied on foreign delegations in Canada. Science Minister Bud Drury, in response to questioning in parliament, denied charges of outright bugging of telephones, but admitted that the branch did "monitor Hertzian wave emanations." (These include radio, microwave and long-distance telephone communications.) The

government has so far, despite insistent questioning from MP's, kept a close cover on the activities of the branch, and on its alleged connections with the CIA.

It is understandable that the government should wish to keep such embarrassing matters secret — they tell a very different story about its attitude towards Canadian independence than the pious official declarations.

Some of the secrecy, of course, is intended to keep a lid on potential scandals relating to the personal honesty of officials. But a substantial part of it is meant to cover up the degree of complicity and collaboration of the Canadian state in the activities of U.S. spies and its secret police.

Many Canadians sincerely believe that Canada's role in Korea, the Congo, Vietnam and Cyprus has been that of an honest broker, keeping the peace and executing the lawful mandate of the world community where necessary. They will find it hard to swallow that the merciless denial of refugee rights to Chileans or the hounding of individuals who refused to participate in a criminal imperialist war, betoken Canada's "generosity", "humanitarianism", or "impartiality." If Canada is to continue to serve US interests by manipulating the goodwill it has built up around the world, it is essential that the degree of its involvement in the most blatant American crimes be kept secret.

But why is Canada involved in the first place? Why is Canadian blood and treasure (through skilful accounting gimmicks, the government has managed to hide even the costs) thrown so decisively into the camp of the US? The answer is to be found in the integration of "our" branch-plant imperialist interests with those of the U.S. For the Canadian ruling class to serve its own interests, it must serve those of the American ruling class, whose junior partner it has become.

The servility of the Canadian state to the American is not a matter of a choice of policy, but springs from the very nature of Canadian capitalism itself. Only the working class can provide the alternative of rational planning, breaking with US imperialism, and with all the secrecy and shameful activities it entails.

Left sweeps York elections

By Adrian Firan

The United Left Slate has consolidated its sweeping victory in the York University student council elections by winning a second election for the key post of student council president.

ULS presidential candidate Dale Ritch, disqualified in the original election, got back on the ballot when anti-ULS student bureaucrats utilized their control of the student council machinery and the election tribunal to call a new presidential election. These pro-administration students hoped that a new election would enable the right wing vote to coalesce around one candidate, rather than be split up nine ways as in the first election. They also obviously hoped that the ULS supporters would become exhausted or demoralized by their vicious, petty maneuverings and would be unable to continue the campaign on the same level. J.J. Koornstra, who had run as a surrogate candidate for Ritch after Ritch was unfairly ruled off the ballot in the first election, stepped down in the new election to allow Ritch to assume his rightful place on the ballot.

The final results in the presidential election were a vindication of the program and tactics of the ULS as opposed to the undemocratic maneuvers of its opponents. Ritch increased his percentage of the popular vote from the 48 percent won by Koornstra in the first election to a final absolute majority of 55 percent. The ULS managed to turn these 'dirty tricks' against their perpetrators and progressively broaden its base of support throughout the campaign. The growth in support for the left on the York campus is demonstrated by the fact Ritch ran for student council president last year and came second with 360 votes, a figure which was increased to well over 600 this year.

The ULS is now faced with the challenge of implementing its

program and functioning as a serious leadership for the 10,000 full-time day students on the campus.

One of the main aims of the ULS is to involve students directly in the decision making process in the university by challenging all of the powers that be. The ULS has called for the abolition of the powerful Board of Governors, a secret, corporate executive dominated body which controls the budget and hires and fires the administration. Elected ULS student board member Anhelyna Szuch (one of only two students out its 27 members), will expose the practices on the Board from within, while other ULS members intend to organize a campaign to replace the Board and the faculty-dominated Senate with a democratically elected, student, faculty and staff-controlled Governing Council.

Fighting against the cutbacks in education was the major component in the program of the ULS. An immediate necessity is to build a common front committee of students, faculty and staff against the government on the campus. At a later stage the York committee aims to link up to similar committees across the province and with other potential allies including teachers, public service workers, and high school students. The ULS is pledged to fight the administration's policies of subsidizing the universities' budget deficit by exacting hefty profits from student services such as residence, food, books and liquor sales.

International Women's Year will be more than an empty slogan at York next semester. The ULS intends to strongly support any initiatives which are aimed at

ending the many aspects of women's oppression both on the campus and off. At present, the key areas of concern on the campus are the grossly inadequate daycare facilities, and the discrimination against women staff and faculty with regard to wages, hiring and promotion. Central to the whole women's rights movement is the need to win amnesty for Dr. Henry

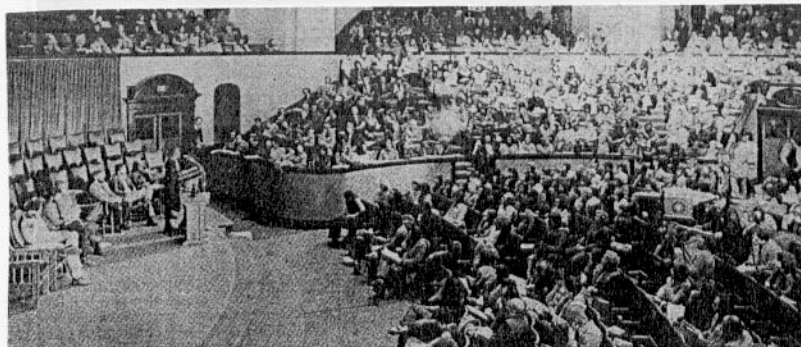
Morgentaler.

Although the United Left Slate has a working majority on the student council, its authority is by no means unchallenged. The central student council at York is still controlled to a large extent by a group of conservative college councils. The present constitution was set up to incorporate the council and turn it into a business operation. The college where the ULS has the strongest support, Bethune College, (most third-world students are members of this college) is not yet a part of the student council. On top of all this, the administration is very hostile to the ULS and will do everything possible to impede it from implementing its program.

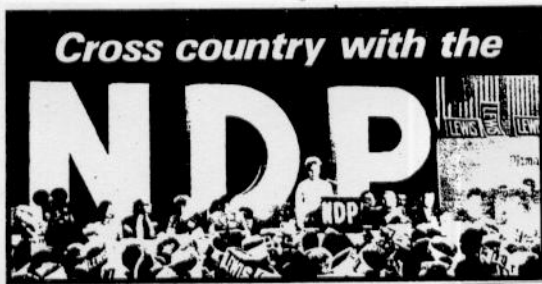
However, ULS members are confident about the future, because they are aware that there is powerful support on the campus for the ULS and its program. Moreover, the objective changes occurring in society as a result of the deepening recession will stimulate an interest in the radical alternatives put forward by the ULS members on the York campus. ULSers hope in the near future to be able to link up with students in other universities to rebuild the Canadian student movement and to make this movement into a powerful force for social change.



Dale Ritch, president-elect York U Student Council.



More than 1,200 U of Toronto students, workers and faculty members rally in Convocation Hall to protest university cutbacks.



By Wayne Roberts

Cuba impresses Lewis

As a result of his recent trip to Cuba, David Lewis has added his voice to the many witnesses of the tremendous accomplishments of the Cuban revolution. Writing a series of informative articles in the *Toronto Star*, he marvels at how "after a short fifteen years" the Castro government overcame an inheritance of over 50 percent illiteracy to a stage where literacy has been eliminated. In a country where health and medicine were tragically backward, medical and dental services are now free and drug costs minimal. Widespread clinics and paramedics have reduced infant mortality by half.

He was equally impressed by the improvements in agriculture, despite the low level of mechanization, a problem heightened by the US trade blockade, often imposed on branch plants operating in Canada which have complied with little protest from Ottawa to Washington's Trading With the Enemy Act.

"The country is rid of foreign and domestic exploitation; the life of the people has been vastly improved even though it is still rather difficult by our standards; free education, free medical care and increased work and opportunity have created a much better society than the Cubans had known before the revolution",

he concluded.

Despite the hurdles of enormous backwardness — the revolution has



accomplishments to its credit that have not been attained in Canada including where there are NDP governments if office. It serves as an inspiration of what is possible when capitalism and imperialism are removed from economic and political power in Canada.

Modest gains in Alta.

Despite the electoral sweep of the Alberta Tories, the NDP registered some gains. With the utter collapse of Social Credit after decades of office, the NDP was the only opposition party to field a full slate. The tiny Communist party fielded 14 candidates largely in Calgary and Edmonton, under the pretence that it alone called for nationalization of Syncrude.

The NDP increased its vote to 13 percent and place second in 14 of the 16 Edmonton ridings. A key factor in the failure of the NDP to make any substantial headway is the considerable cut in taxes that the tory Lougheed government has been able to make through the payoff of its sellout of the province's natural resources to the giant US oil corporations.

...and behind the scenes

When the NDP wins an election, it's a race between the NDP and the civil service bureaucrats for power, Jack Weldon, economist and former advisor to the NDP in Saskatchewan, told a Toronto audience last year. In his "Regina Diary" for March 12, 1975 Angus Ricker editor of the NDP's Saskatchewan *Commonwealth* brings up this question again. Reproducing a cartoon classic which reveals top civil servants as the power behind the throne of cabinet, he laments that the NDP has not grasped the fullness of its responsibilities in the rapidity of its electoral successes.

"It must not only ensure that the proposals in the party platform are carried out. More than that, it must also ensure that the ideas and aspirations of our party are reflected in government, administration and long-term planning. A fact of political life is that parties come and go but the government remains. There can be a terrific tension between the party in power and the civil service that is supposed to serve it."

Ricker cites the recent evidence of the Crossman diaries in England. Bureaucrats are trying to repress the secrets of this ex-Labor cabinet minister who apparently makes some scorching comments on the so-called "neutral" civil servant bureaucracy. Ricker considers that fully-worked out party platforms are the only safeguards to Labor's program in power. If we don't develop these yardsticks in Canada, he warns, "we may see our

→ p. 2

20 cents you say! Nonsense!



I WILL BUY A
SUBSCRIPTION
AND GET IT
FOR 16.66 CENTS
A COPY.

6 issues - \$1.00
12 issues - \$2.00
Mail to:
FORWARD,
Box 778,
Adelaide St. PO
Toronto, Ont.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

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government going to default to the non-elected civil service with our ministers putting a gloss on it."

Ricker does not have to look as far away as England for warnings. Seymour Lipset's *Agrarian Socialism* details how the bureaucracy sabotaged many CCF platforms when it came to power in Saskatchewan. He cites some key bureaucrats as boasting of "running my department completely" and of "stopping harebrained radical schemes". More recently in Saskatchewan, there have been problems with the Workmen's Compensation Board being controlled by the old anti-labor bureaucracy. This state apparatus and bureaucracy has been carefully built up over generations to serve and rationalize the needs of capitalists, no matter what government is in "power". The close ties between the civil service elite and the ruling class, definitively proved in Porter's *Vertical Mosaic*, lead them to thwart NDP governments. That is why they must be dismantled as part of the process of socialism. For NDP governments, part of their defence lies in a strict reliance on the party platform. This was argued forcefully by the outgoing executive of the BC NDP and has been recently supported by the editor of the *Alberta Democrat*. Above all, the NDP has to have a mass, activist base to carry its program and protect the wishes of the electorate in the face of the arbitrary power of the state bureaucracy.

BC women score IWY

"As we see it, IWY is a monster public relations campaign, a Madison Avenue snow job of massive proportions". Under the intriguing title "IWY, A Trojan Horse?", Cynthia Flood presented the position of the steering committee of the BC NDP women's committee on International Women's Year in the pages of the *BC Democrat*.

"The campaign is being staged precisely because the international women's movement has had such an enormous impact, because women all over the world are standing up angry and speaking out in large numbers" she writes. "IWY is an attempt on the part of the ruling classes around the globe to con the women's movement into thinking that they really have our interests at heart and are committed to making changes that will benefit us". But instead of action and legislation, governments are providing a forum for so-called experts and conferences of hand-picked delegates under the firm control of government.

"The way in which IWY has been laid upon us is perfectly characteristic of the way in

which this society operates as a whole and is a cruel travesty of the aims and methods of the women whom IWY is allegedly intended to assist", she claims. The demands of the women's movement have been articulated countless times. "We do not need experts to discuss them further. What we need is action to bring them into reality."

The same issue of the *BC Democrat* presents the women's committee's calendar of proposed events, requested from them by Premier Barrett. The calendar stretches over the entirety of women's year and is divided into provincial and federal legislation. The first items are a BC Ministry of Women's Rights, long resisted by Barrett, and federal removal of abortion from the criminal code. Other events include affirmative action legislation covering all government employees, homemaker pensions, massive funding of birth control research and education, 24 hour, free, community controlled daycare, reforms in property law that give women equality, legislation protecting domestic and agricultural workers and well-funded programs of women's studies.

NDY starts comeback

The New Democratic Youth is experiencing considerable growth in the western provinces. In BC, the NDY had a recent convention where party president Frank Murphy talked of the youth as the conscience of the party and the needed "burr under the saddle". Clubs at Simon Fraser University and in the Okanagan are growing.

The Saskatchewan youth just completed their convention, reported as the biggest and most exciting in five years. Among other things, the convention called for the removal of abortion from the criminal code and a program to stop the virus called "fungus Langus."

The Alberta NDY claims its major function is to keep the party on its collective toes and to act as a reminder of the socialist ideals which inspired the movement. They have launched a campaign for equal application of minimum wage laws to full and part-time workers under 18. They have criticized the Manitoba NDP for its legislation which permits a 25c differential, penalizing workers under 18.

As these developments illustrate, youth have their own problems as well as their own aspirations. In this period, most youth are concentrated

in schools where arbitrary administrative authority and educational cutbacks undermine their well-being. A youth movement under the control and leadership of youth is the best way that the labor movement can respond to these problems. Invariably, this has worked to the benefit and enlightenment of the movement as a whole.

In Ontario, unfortunately, the NDY as a separate entity has been virtually disbanded. As of the last provincial convention, there are two supposed youth representatives on the provincial executive. The absence of a separate youth organization has made it more difficult to build sustained movements in the high schools and campuses despite growing opposition to the cutbacks.

This structure also denies youth the possibility of fully discussing their problems and needs.

Youth are in the forefront of the many new layers coming into the NDP. It is important that they participate in the movement as a whole and that they have a vehicle for their own needs and aspirations. The Ontario NDP should begin reconsidering the error of the last convention now.

Two buttons — 2 1/4" diameter, 50 cents each, or 25 cents in order of 20 or more, postage included — through Forward Books, 53 Gerrard Street West, Toronto.



New forces and ideas at NDP Toronto area rally

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by Wayne Roberts

This year's Toronto Regional Policy Conference enthusiastically adopted the proposal to create a permanent delegated body, the

Metro Toronto Coordinating Committee, open to the participation, without vote, of all NDP members. The committee is to be responsible for coordinating action on Metro and other issues of concern to the NDP and labor movement. Many consider that this body will lay the basis for coordinating the activity of NDP ridings in municipal politics and openly raise the NDP banner at this level. Both prospects are important steps forward in raising activism and class politics at the local level.

Attended by 235 registered delegates and observers, a good third of whom had never been to a NDP conference before, the April 5-6 conference marked the entry of new forces from emerging struggles — into the NDP. Activists in the teachers, daycare and Native peoples movements played important roles in leading off the workshops.

The openness of the conference to new ideas was not only reflected in the resolutions that were adopted. Conference organizers issued an open invitation to socialist groups to set up their literature tables. Forward Books was the only one to respond. Its sales of Amnesty for Morgentaler, and Every Mother a Willing Mother, Every Child a Wanted Child buttons, the Ernest Mandel pamphlet on the recession, and the newly published brochure of the left-wing manifestos that appeared at the last Ontario and BC NDP conventions, were brisk.

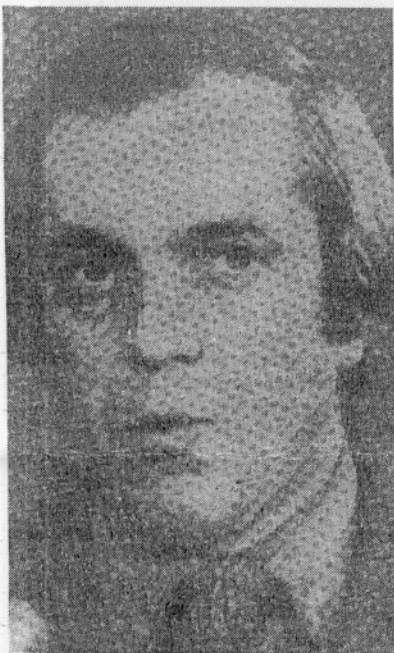
Following a day and a half of workshops, the plenary session adopted a number of far-reaching resolutions. The conference endorsed the May 10 march for women's rights, sent an emergency telegram of solidarity to imprisoned Dr. Morgentaler and one of protest to the federal cabinet demanding he be pardoned. It also forcefully instructed party candidates to vigorously present the party's position on abortion during the coming elections.

The conference also passed an

emergency resolution condemning the Canadian government's hypocrisy in offering to aid South Vietnamese orphans after years of shameful complicity in the US bombardment of Vietnam. Delegates demanded that Canadian funds be directed through UN auspices to the liberated areas of Vietnam.

The conference adopted positions supporting equal pay work of equal value, pensions for housewives, and other matters concerning education, old age pensions, etc. It attacked the federal government's Green Paper as an attempt to scapegoat immigrants for the problems of a decaying capitalist economy. As well, it called for a mass labor-socialist paper to compete with the anti-labor, capitalist press.

The initiation and direction of the



Ed Broadbent, once again in the race for NDP leader.

conference was marked by rank and file activist control and participation in everything from attendance to chairing of sessions. The conference was an important example of how the NDP can serve as a focus for diverse groups involved in struggle against the capitalist governments' attacks on social services, minorities and the working people as a whole.

Federal leadership

With Ed Broadbent back in the race, there are now four candidates for the position of federal NDP leader; Lorne Nystrom, Rosemary Brown, and John Harney.

Although Brown has not yet clarified her platform on a number of issues, the scope of her concerns is quite broad and she is evidently pulling the race as a whole to the left. "The first thing I will do if I become Prime Minister" she told a Toronto meeting of 200, is to get out of NATO and those type of alliances. She has also talked of the necessity to nationalize Syncrude.

However she is highlighting two features of her approach. First, is the ideological difference between the philosophy of the welfare state and socialism. She insists that socialism must not drift into a welfare state. Although she supports reforms, she believes the road to socialism is not through the welfare state. We should not get bogged down in reforming capitalism when we should be changing it.

Tied into this concept of socialism, she stresses the need for educational campaigns. We can't combat the powerful forces of capitalism with ignorance, she argues. As well, the NDP must define its constituency — working people and disadvantaged groups. We can't be all things to all people, she says, in obvious reference to the catch-all Madison Avenue slogans which the NDP leadership hopes will blunt the fears



of opponents.

Also central to her campaign is the close identity between socialism and feminism. Her campaign, first discussed at a national NDP women's conference last summer, insists that you can't be one without the other.

In his first speech since deciding to re-enter the race, Broadbent told the Toronto Conference of New Democrats of his platform to nationalize Syncrude, equalize income through fairer taxation and organize the federal party on a more sophisticated basis.

Neither Nystrom nor Harney have yet issued an extensive outline of their views.

(Found in May 1975)

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATIONAL CUTBACKS

(DALE RITCH & ABIE WEISFELD, SOCIALIST LEAGUE)

The recent decision of the Ontario government to increase per capita university spending by only 7.4% for the 74/75 academic year, thus falling far short of the 16.8% increases demanded by university administrators, is a step which endangers the post secondary education system as we know it.

This recent development is quite consistent with the cutbacks policy launched in the spring of 1972. These policies dramatically increased tuition costs and reduced grants to force students to directly shoulder more of the education costs. The government hopes to accomplish two goals: to reduce educational expenditures to 4.6% of the gross provincial product by 1980, from 6.1% in 1970; and to force students to pay for 50% of operating costs by 1980 (a three-fold increase).

The Liberal federal government's policies toward education are in close harmony with the strategy of the Tory provincial government. The federally-sponsored "Peitchinis Report" suggests that students should pay 58% of operating costs. A recent federal-provincial task force on student aid promotes the idea of contingency-repayment plans which are in effect, a mechanism for increasing tuition fees.

The overall result of tuition increases and contingency repayment schemes (CORSAP) will be to prevent youth from working class families from enrolling in universities. The recently-published study, Does Money Matter, found that youth from lower class backgrounds planned to drop out of school after grade 12 in much higher proportions than youth from middle and upper class families. The authors also found that "Ontario parents, whatever their social class or background, are overwhelmingly in favour of education."

This report refutes the myth that anybody can acquire a post secondary education in Ontario who wants it.

Both tuition fees and CORSAP are regressive forms of financing, in that students from lower class backgrounds have to borrow more and more in order to attend post secondary institutions. Students from wealthy families can afford to attend no matter how high tuition costs go.

The overall strategy of both the Liberal and Conservatives governments to lower the growth rate of post secondary institutions reflects the needs of large American and Canadian corporations to rationalize the education system. The economic crises facing Canada and other Western countries have resulted in a decreased demand for skilled technicians, teachers and white collar workers.

In Canada, the process is particularly acute because most of the research, planning and development used in industry is carried out in the United States. The lack of employment for graduates is reflected in the fact that youth in the 18 - 24 age bracket suffer the highest unemployment of any group.

The cutbacks in post secondary education have gone hand-in-hand with a spending freeze on hospitals, elementary and secondary education and other social services. Massive opposition by nurses, hospital workers, and teachers have forced the government to temporarily delay extensive cuts in these areas. However, the government has not changed its overall strategy to reduce social expenditures.

An additional benefit is accrued by the corporations in the form of increased subsidies and decreased corporate taxes from the government savings engendered by the cuts in educational, hospital and other social service expenditures.

At the same time as social services are cut back, corporation profits are skyrocketing, and the level of corporate taxes is decreasing. From 1962 to 1970, the corporate share of all provincial income tax revenue dropped from

approximately 60% to 25% while the share of individual income tax revenue rose from 40% to 75%.

The federal and provincial governments justify their attacks on post secondary education, indeed on all the social services, by saying that there is not enough money to pay for these services, and that the taxpayers (meaning wage and salary earners) are demanding cuts. The fact that the federal and provincial Ontario governments have suddenly managed to find \$400 million to give away to the American oil companies who control the Syncrude project, indicates that there is plenty of money available to finance post secondary education and other social services.

The priorities of Big Business are clearly expressed in the words of Syncrude sell-out artist Donald Macdonald, Federal energy Minister (Toronto Star, Feb. 20/75) : " With more of our capital being spent in the energy sector, there is inevitably less available for the other goals our society may wish to achieve.. These goals to be sacrificed to fill the coffers of the American oil corporations include " ... improvements in the amount and quality of our housing, better health, welfare and educational systems; as well as other sectors of our economy, such as manufacturing and transportation. "

According to Macdonald, Syncrude is only the beginning of a \$100 BILLION giveaway over the next ten years.

The conflicts that students are presently experiencing put us on the same side as other sectors of society, mainly workers, whose interests are being attacked at the same time by the government.

Cutbacks and Election Strategy

Submission by the York University delegation,
Dale Ritch,
Abie Weisfeld.

The NUS/UNE and the OFS/FEO have recognized that the necessary response to cutbacks in post-secondary education must be to form a Common Front with those layers of the population representing the social sector such as faculty, teachers, civil servants, women and organized labor in general. Rather than struggling for the interests of students alone in negotiations with the government we should be reaching out to those people moving to oppose cutbacks in their particular sphere of activity in order to form alliances which cannot be lightly dismissed. A narrow campaign representing the interests of students alone will not succeed since the present composition of the student body is mainly middle-class in origin and so any demands made by students can be demagogically presented as the bleatings of the privileged irresponsible youth to the working people in society. Our interests are not that of an isolated privileged few but that of the rights of all to what they could then consider to be their necessary education. The New Democratic Party submission to this meeting addresses this question stating,

"Everyone has a right to a post-secondary education, just as fifty years ago it was accepted that everyone had a right to an elementary education."

Our interests combined with those of the vast majority of Canadians cannot be fulfilled through merely organizing as a pressure group in opposition to the prevailing status quo of the Federal Liberal government and the Provincial Tory administration. Pressure tactics merely result in modification to a general policy of cutbacks in the social sector, and in attempts to play one group off against another (i.e. "taxpayers" against students). The question of who controls the power to set policy must be taken up if any solution to cutbacks will be found.

First of all, in the upcoming fall provincial election the opportunity is available to extend the Common Front to the political level by following

the lead of the Ontario Federation of Labor in endorsing the New Democratic Party. Previously, in a similar manner the secondary-school teachers in British Columbia endorsed the NDP and so helped bring that party to office.

The programme of the NDP on student financing is that,

"There should be no tuition fees, and a decent living stipend should be available to students."

as Floyd Laughren's contribution to this meeting states, as well as putting a halt to cutbacks by taxing corporations to pay for the costs of education.

Programme is one thing and action is another but we can see that the NDP has followed through by beginning to institute its programme in British Columbia where

"The first \$200 of assessed need (\$100 in the case of single semester applications) will be given in grant funds. The remaining need will be met on a 50% grant, 50% loan basis to a total maximum grant of \$1500 (including the initial \$200) and total loan of \$1400." (Student Aid Report NUS/UNE May 1975, pg. 23)

Together with this B.C. has a tuition fee rate of less than \$500 with no rise anticipated. This compares in Ontario to an initial loan minimum of \$800 and tuition rates averaging \$650 in universities. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan where NDP governments exist as well, loan and grant schemes compare favourably with Ontario.

How Ontario NDP education policy compares with Ontario Liberal Party opinion can be taken from the submission of Robert Nixon which states that,

"Ontario universities will have to economize, eliminate inefficiencies, and assume a more modest position in the province's spending priorities."

This statement could easily be substituted for a policy statement of Tory education minister James Auld who also justifies the cutbacks by demagogically referring to the elimination of frills. Nixon endorses the cutbacks in post-secondary education as long as its done nicely! The Liberals also acquiesce to the previous rise in tuition fees by refusing to speak against it and have not called for the reduction or elimination of tuition fees.

The NDP's education policy which corresponds very closely to the OFS/FEO position, also has a rounded appreciation of the role of students in society pointing out that,

"we export jobs elsewhere and import inflation when buying ... end products. Our resources simply must be brought under public ownership and developed here. ... The NDP stands for fundamental changes in society, and changing the government is merely the first stage. The education policy of the NDP is part of a much broader goal of democratic socialism - an end to economic and social injustices, the proper development of our economy, the public ownership of our resources, decentralized decision-making, and end to sex discrimination and an education system that both challenges and liberates the individual."

Having recognized the need for a Common Front with working people in various sectors of society to represent our interests, now we must recognize that need on the political level as well. The organized labor movement has long ago recognized the need to endorse its political arm the NDP, and now it is up to the organized student movement to do likewise.

Some delegates may hesitate to endorse the NDP because their own elections may not have taken on a political character so as to give them the confidence that such a vote of endorsement would be understood by their constituencies. In these circumstances the upcoming election campaign provides them with the opportunity to go out to their constituents and explain the OFS/FEO position and cultivate the necessary political consciousness. A student leadership must not rest on the state of political consciousness that exists presently but must provide the leadership in initiating campaigns of this sort. In fact it is only through the development and mobilization of political consciousness in campaigns such as this that we can gain a powerful existence, all else becomes a facade if we cannot appeal to the general student population.

In implementation of a policy of endorsement towards the NDP in the upcoming provincial election the OFS/FEO should implement the following tactics:

- 1) publish an OFS/FEO poster expressing our position,

- 2) publish a special election issue of the paper Ontario Student dealing with OFS/FEO, common front, and NDP policy possible co-sponsored and co-written by other common front participants such as the OFL, OSSTF, etc.,
- 3) put a special effort into the riding in which Minister of Education Auld will be running to ensure his defeat, and
- 4) assign OFS/FEO fieldworkers to the campus election campaigns.

YORK UNIVERSITY

COUNCIL OF THE YORK STUDENT FEDERATION

NOTICE OF ANNUAL MEETING

1 May 1975

Notice is hereby given that the Annual Meeting of the Council of the York Student Federation will be held at 6:30 p.m. on Thursday, May 1st in the Senate Chambers, S915 Ross.

Dale Ritch
President-Elect of the C.Y.S.F.

AGENDA

1. Call To Order
2. Formal Confirmation Of The President
3. Approve Remuneration For The President
4. Election And Remuneration Of The Speaker
5. Election Of The Executive Committee
6. Election Of The Chief Returning Officer
7. Election Of The Finance Committee
8. Appointment Of C.Y.S.F. Administrative Assistant
9. Election Of C.Y.S.F. Senator
10. New Business

- NOTE:
- 1) The C.Y.S.F. is seeking applicants for the positions of Chief Returning Officer, Speaker, and C.Y.S.F. Secretary for the 1975/76 academic year. Positions commence May 1 and successful applicants will be elected at the annual general meeting May 1. Interested applicants should submit resumes, briefs by May 1 to the C.Y.S.F. office.
 - 2) Members of the 1975/76 Council are requested to inform the Council office of any changes in their summer mailing addresses.
 - 3) Members should have a copy of the Constitution. If you do not have it, please request one prior to the Annual Meeting from the Council office.

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- **MAY 21: The Labor Party in Quebec**
John Darling, veteran of many years in the Quebec socialist movement, speaks on a topic of current debate within the Quebec labor movement of decisive importance.
- **May 28: A review of the recent CLC convention**
Gordon Doctorow reports on this year's important CLC convention and the challenges now before the Canadian labor movement.
- **JUNE 4: The Current Struggle in Italy**
Robert Kasher, graduate student specializing in international relations speaks on the situation confronting the Italian working class as it moves into the upcoming elections and its implications for the international workers struggle.

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● JUNE 18: A forum on THE CURRENT SITUATION IN NORTHERN
IRELAND and an analysis of its future prospects.
Guest Speaker: Gerry McKinney, president of Sean Fox Club
(affiliated to USA-Canada Republic Clubs)



● JUNE 25: An analysis of this month's PROVINCIAL NDP CONVENTION
and its implications for the upcoming year.
Speakers: Gord Doerow and Calvin Johansson

53 Gerrard St. W.
(at Bay)

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Canadian "JUSTICE" railroads Morgentaler

forward

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF
Vol. 1, No. 9 June 1975 Toronto 20 cents

Meat stench shows profit system decay

By Wayne Roberts

As stomachs heave with the revelations of hundreds of thousands of pounds of putrid and diseased meat sold to Canadians at Expo 67 and across meat markets in Ontario, the relationship between organized crime, government and big business is being nauseatingly revealed as never before. As the Quebec probe into organized crime draws in its nets, it is dragging up nothing less than the crud of organized greed and its total disregard for human life and health. Gangland fortunes laundered through meat from diseased and dead animals is merely making a killing in the much less costly and less dangerous alleys of traditional big business.

Apparently all that was necessary to make this carrion presentable to Expo diners was the removal of skin charred with coal marking it for pet food, and the addition of chemicals to stave off the stench. There was no apparent problem in bypassing government officials.

Police wiretappers knew of the crime since at least 1972, but did nothing. Sixty or more inspectors approved the food and nothing was done. Nor is it known how it escaped Ontario health inspectors and nothing was done. Nor was anything done by the federal government, which is currently sitting on the issue of preservatives linked to cancer, since, as Minister Lalonde reasons, the food industry cannot get along without the use of nitrates.

The stench of putrid meat is merely the latest revelation of the anti-human and criminal policies normal in business and tolerated by governments that are leading to the wholesale destruction of the human and natural environment.

Dying hard remains the only reward for thousands who spend their lives of toil in the factories and mines of the giant syndicates who control this economy and society.

Once again the government is criminally complicit. The testimony of two miners had to be read by their widows to the Ontario Royal Commission on Mine Safety. Their husbands had died of lung cancer caused by poor ventilation only shortly before the commission began. While the procrastinations of this commission waited on the men to die, Natural Resources Minister Bernier responded to the cases of 456 uranium miners struck with silicosis by planning to insist that workers subject to work conditions causing cancer should not be allowed to work more than eight hours of overtime per week.

The collusion between health and company officials is most recently revealed in the case of four miners with the dreaded dust disease whose health reports were released to Rio Algom Mining in violation of doctor confidentiality, even before their condition was known to the victims themselves. More typical perhaps is the response of Minister Miller to a question by Ontario NDP leader Lewis on the dangers of leukemia in a new Sarnia Petrosar plant: "Sadly, the story of occupational health is that we don't know for X years whether certain measures have been effective." Meanwhile workers are to be used as guinea pigs.

United Steelworkers in a recent conference organized on the theme "Stop the slaughter in industry" called for the right of workers to inspect work sites for health and to have the right to refuse unhealthy work.

These proposals point the way to the first steps toward solving these abuses against humanity. The safety of workers cannot be left in the stained hands of business and government. It must be placed under the direct control of the workers themselves, who will police conditions, test the chemicals and oversee adequate protective mechanisms.

But more than that, these cases illus-

End the vendetta now ! Morgentaler Amnesty!

By Alice Klein

"It is obvious that it is the intention of the authorities to destroy me by all possible means ... I received the heaviest sentence of any doctor in an abortion trial (even when a woman died as a result of an abortion by a doctor I know of no case where the sentence exceeded mine, whereas quacks often got light or suspended sentences; it was clear from the judgement that I had not been sentenced for this one abortion but for the challenge to this immoral law, which means in fact all the abortions which I have done...

"My only hope is that my friends outside, the public, public opinion, will

help me. My morale and spirit are not broken, and they will not easily break; but I am worried and concerned about the immediate future. I know I could ease my situation and plead guilty to something which is not a crime but an attempt to act in a humane and decent way by helping women who need abortions. (This is in reference to the additional charges which are being laid against Dr. Morgentaler on May 26)...

"Thus, although reluctantly, I do ask you for a contribution to permit me to carry the fight. I also ask for any kind of support for the cause and for me personally. Do everything you possibly can to bring pressure to bear on the responsible officials, M.P.'s, ministers of justice, Federal and Provincial, the Prime Minister, advisory bodies, public opinion in general, so that the law be changed in such a way as to ensure that women have a right to safe medical abortions and real access to them without hindrance and delay; and help me personally by protesting my unjust incarceration in spite of an acquittal by a jury and the continued harassment by demanding that all other charges be dropped...

"Please help me to continue the fight for justice, humanity and sanity."

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Gov't threat to Quebec labor Poses need for union clean-up

Flash!!

The Quebec government's new legislation to bar those with criminal convictions from holding union office for 5 years may soon claim its first victim. Not amongst the corrupt building trades brass like Andre Desjardins but the elected mass popular leader of the QFL itself, Louis Laberge. "Justice" Minister Choquette revealed his real intent when he amended the bill in the legislature to include the crime of mischief in the ban at the same time that Laberge was on trial on that charge in Joliette. Now Laberge has been convicted as a result of a speech he made in support of workers striking the Hupp appliance factory for an interim cost-of-living increase last year. The company alleged that the plant had been damaged as a result of Laberge's incitement. The labor movement needs the broadest solidarity along the lines of the 1972 Common Front to defend Laberge as the elected workers leader against this rotten law and the whole Liberal union-busting campaign.

By Bill Saunders

Quebec labor is facing its most severe test since the Common Front strikes in the spring of 1972. The provincial government is using the Cliche Commission report on violence in the construction industry to put into effect some of the most vicious and draconian measures in Canadian labor law.

In contrast to 1972's spirited struggles against the government attacks on the civil servants and the jailing of the leaders of the three union centrals, today Quebec labor stands divided and dis-



QFL members cheer Laberge after meeting with government officials.

organized. Why? The main reasons are to be found in the leadership of the Quebec Federation of Labor.

It is often said that "bullshit baffles brains" and the leaders of the QFL seem determined to try to prove that proposition again. They sat on a growing mass of corruption and decay within the QFL building trades unions.

When the Liberals seized on the Cliche commission recommendations to introduce legislation to place four key locals under government trusteeship, the QFL brass tried to mobilize the union ranks against the legislation without seriously addressing themselves to the major problems within the building trades. When the initial demonstration at the legislative buildings in Quebec City against the proposed trusteeship flopped, it became clear that the ranks of the construction unions (not to mention the rest of the labor movement) could not be mobilized for a serious struggle against this

union-busting legislation so long as the QFL leaders did not confront the thugs now running the Quebec construction locals.

With the Quebec City debacle on their hands, the brass soon dropped the whole trusteeship issue and seized upon the Pratt and Whitney (formerly United Aircraft) strike, which had been languishing for some 16 months, as a mobilizing issue. This phase of QFL leader Laberge's disgusting maneuvers began with the apparently unplanned and adventurist occupation of the Pratt and Whitney plant in Longueuil after a mass demonstration on May 13. The QFL then called a province-wide general strike with the aim of forcing Premier Bourassa to pass legislation compelling the company to rehire the striking workers under the Rand formula.

When some tens of thousands of workers did walk off the job in support of United Aircraft workers, the cons-

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Women in IWY p 5

With the NDP p 6

p. 2

These were the words of Dr. Henry Morgentaler from Montreal's Boreaux Jail where, in his 8 by 12 foot prison cell, with no desk, one chair, uncovered toilet and no hot water, wearing the torn, paint-splattered, unpressed prison garb, known by his new name - Prisoner #118658 and awaiting further court battles forced upon him by the relentless vendetta of the Crown Prosecution, Morgentaler was serving the second month of his 18 month sentence.

Now as a result of vigorous protest to the prison authorities about the conditions of his internment, Morgentaler has won a minor victory - a transfer to the Waterloo Rehabilitation Centre, a minimum security prison in which the conditions are less inhuman. Yet this small concession is accompanied by the new outrage perpetrated by the Justice Department - not satisfied with his 18 month sentence, they are proceeding with the remaining charges against him.

The authorities demonstrated how petty they could be in their vendetta against Dr. Morgentaler on May 26 when he was denied ten minutes, during a court appearance on the new charges, to receive the Humanist of the Year award from American Humanist Association members who had travelled to Montreal to make the presentation.

The prediction of Morgentaler's lawyer, Claude-Armand Sheppard, "Morgentaler in jail is more dangerous than Morgentaler free," may well prove true however. Only days after Lang announced that the Cabinet had no intention of reviewing Morgentaler's conviction, the Committee for Amnesty for Dr. Morgentaler was formed. Amongst its ranks are such prominent individuals as Dennis McDermott, June Callwood, Toronto Mayor Crombie, Senator David Croll, Flora MacDonald, all the NDP leadership candidates, Sam Fox, President of the Toronto Labor Council, and others. The committee has been able to include many who would take no public position on the abortion issue but who are willing, because of the Supreme Court reversal of the jury verdict, to stand behind the call for amnesty.

This committee is not the only evidence of the growing support for Morgentaler and in fact, for the whole movement for repeal. On May 10, Morgentaler and abortion rights were key issues of demonstrations across the country. On May 24, 300 marched in Ottawa to protest the imprisonment of Morgentaler and demand the repeal of the abortion laws.

The American Humanist Association has initiated an international committee for the defence of Dr. Morgentaler. Protests by AHA members overseas have been lodged with the Canadian

Continued on page 4

Outrage at Morgentaler jailing quickens movement for repeal

continued from page 1

ambassadors in the Netherlands, Great Britain and the US.

Already, the pro-choice movement has, for the first time, won some minor skirmishes with the proponents of compulsory pregnancy. At the Scarboro General Hospital in Toronto, and at the Vancouver General Hospital, pro-repeal forces rebuffed attempts by the compulsory pregnancy freaks to take over key hospital positions in order to restrict the number of abortions approved by the hospital committees.

Dr. Mackay, outgoing head of the committee at the Scarboro General explained the need for a liberal board. Before the present liberalization of the law was passed in 1969, he worked on what was called "Saturday morning clean-up." This was the job of treating all the women suffering from the botched abortions done on Friday night-payday, a jolting reminder of the effects of the policy which "pro-life" advocate.

In an election of members to the Mayor's Task Force on the Status of Women in Toronto - which recently sponsored the May 10th demonstration - three women ran on an anti-abortion platform. Though supported by Mayor Crombie, they were defeated by City Council in their bid to turn the task force into an instrument of the anti-abortion witch-hunt.

Yet in spite of the fact that public opinion is now more than ever registering in favor of Morgentaler's release and repeal of the abortion laws, those who support women's rights in this country have a long way to go, to defeat the opposition. Holding the threat of excommunication in their hands, and the enormous wealth of the church, the male hierarchy of the Catholic Church and their supporters are a force to be reckoned with. The so-called "right to life," posturing as champions of individual rights have proclaimed Morgentaler's imprisonment, "a great victory for the women and unborn children

of Canada." The vanguard of the compulsory pregnancy freaks have formed a staunch back-up force to legitimize the Government's stepped up anti-abortion offensive. Curiously, while the government has refused to meet with CARAL representatives, the fetus fetishists can boast of a recent audience with Trudeau which was widely reported in the press. They are planning to present a petition with one million signatures favoring further restrictions on abortion.

The abortion issue for a long time has been one which was slow to gain support, not because the majority of Canadians didn't favor repeal but because it's an issue which most people would prefer to ignore. It touches on a painful reality, one which even those who have suffered directly under the current laws, would rather not confront directly. But with Morgentaler acquitted by a jury, sitting in jail, and facing even more charges, silence is no longer possible.

US tycoons take over the Canadian bankroll

by Ross Dowson

(from Forward, June 1975) (All emphasis in this presentation by the Web Ed.)

Canadian banks, long thought to be the citadel of the indigenous Canadian capitalist class, and to be thoroughly immunized from the continuing assault on the Canadian economy by US monopoly capitalism, are now crying for action from Ottawa. "Unless action is taken soon, control of foreign activities in key sectors of our financial markets will be lost," says no less a person than G.R. Ritchie, president of the venerable Bank of Nova Scotia. **"Foreign bank participation in Canadian capital markets is not only extensive but is accelerating at an explosive rate,"** he warned last summer.

The banks, along with the insurance, trust, mortgage, sales and franchise finance companies, play a central role in the capitalist economy.

The nine Canadian banks chartered under the Bank Act, and particularly the Big Five, in running consultation with the federal Bank of Canada, form a command post over the Canadian economy, and over all of Canadian society. They gather in the funds of the millions of small depositors to whom they dole out tiny interest payments and, playing on the market place with the great sums at their disposal, not only carry out technological miracles through arranging the construction of giant enterprises but at the same time impose monopolistic despotisms, higher prices, crises and unemployment.

Through this power the banks have played a key role in the colossal expansion of the Canadian economy that has taken place particularly since the late 1950's and which has resulted in the domination by US corporate interests of the most dynamic and strategic sectors of the Canadian economy. US imperialist ownership or control of manufacturing, mining, pulp and paper, etc., etc. is not only no longer in question, it has resulted in a broad opposition, a nationalist consciousness from coast to coast and an increasing acceptance of the idea that for the working people of this country to have any say, let alone determination of their lives, requires no less than the public ownership of the essential components of the economy.

Several years back Max Saltzman, the financial critic of the NDP parliamentary caucus, charged that "the banks have been one of the chief contributors to the foreign takeover of the Canadian economy." The reason Saltzman gave was disarming in its simplicity – "because they are more willing in many cases to give money to American-owned firms than they are Canadians." Saltzman proposed the nationalization of the banks because they are not serving the public interest.

"When we lend money to a subsidiary of a US or foreign-owned corporation," replies R. M. Macintosh of the Bank of Nova Scotia, "I doubt whether it is appropriate for us to make a decision based on our judgment of what the public interest is." Neil McKinnon, chairman of the Imperial Bank of Commerce answers in the same vein: "We decide who

is worthy of credit and who is not. That is the basis of our decision. We cannot make political judgments.

The banks are out to maximize profits, period. "The bankers' function as an elite without elitist credentials or shibboleths," president and chairman of the Royal Bank, Earl McLaughlin goes so far as to say, "unlike the investment dealers and underwriters " According to McLaughlin, the latter are hung up in efforts to "perpetuate the influence of established wealth and the right of private schools." But not so with Canada's bankers. *The Royal last year headlined an advertisement in the Wall Street Journal with the words "We deliver Canada."*

Conrad F. Harrington, chief executive officer of the Royal Trust (10% owned by the Bank of Montreal) saw no alternative for the banks but to play the role that Saltzman charged them with. "Canada's place in the trading community is such," he said, "that we cannot resist the tide of change and build ourselves a nationalistic ghetto without losing that place and paying a heavy economic and social price."

Walter Gordon, big business adviser and exile from the federal cabinet thought "it is wrong that the money put up by individual Canadians in the form of their savings should be used by American firms to buy out Canadian enterprises. But he blamed Ottawa for giving "no clean-cut directive."

There is not the slightest shred of evidence that the Canadian banks have served in any way to preserve indigenous Canadian capital's control of the economy in the face of the US takeover. On the contrary all evidence shows that they have played a major part, and in fact that they have expedited the whole process, actually using the resources at their disposal to do so. Their role has become so obvious that Finance Minister John Turner in an anti-inflation speech last fall felt able to demagogically appeal to the banks "to avoid helping to finance takeovers of Canadian companies by foreign interests."

The Bank Act, on the other hand, while it has not served by any means as the ultimate preservation of indigenous Canadian capitalist control of the economy, as some think it is designed to do, has become somewhat of an irritant. Not so much for the US imperialist interests who with the vast resources at their disposal have found more than ample ways to get around the Bank Act. **It is the Canadian financial elite itself and the political representatives of the Canadian capitalist class who find the Bank Act most irritable and alien to their interests.**

The Bank Act would appear to have defended the monopolistic position of the 10 Canadian chartered banks in 1964 when the Morgan interests (Citibank) purchased the charter of the dormant Dutch-owned Mercantile Bank. Finance Minister Gordon feared that the rival Rockefeller interests also might acquire Toronto Dominion and in his memoirs refers to intensive pressures "including those from the (US) State Department." But when the tumult died, First National City Bank of New York nonetheless ended up retaining the disputed charter. **Furthermore, the Bank Act provision barring any**

foreign group or investor from holding more than 10% of the stock of a chartered bank was lifted to allow Citibank to retain 25% of the stock. This year, five years ahead of schedule, the third largest banking organization in the world will have fully established itself in the ranks of Canada's chartered banks.

Canada's High Commissioner to Britain, Paul Martin, in an apology for the Foreign Investment Review Act, boasted to London financiers this month that "Canada today is one of the least restrictive of industrialized countries with respect to foreign investment." In a speech to the Canadian Conference on Banking last fall, David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan commended Canadian officials for "significant steps forward with the removal of the interest equalization tax and the elimination of guidelines regarding exporting capital from Canada."

Back in 1971 J. Leonard Walker, president of the Bank of Montreal, urged that the US bankers, instead of being restricted, should be allowed to enter the Canadian banking system. He pointed out that the restrictions had in effect actually boomeranged against the Canadian banking monopolists. **The Bank Act, he noted "puts Canadian banks at a disadvantage in our own market with respect to banking institutions from other countries (US) who can engage in such activities through association with other non-bank institutions."** At that time the president of the Bank of Montreal was referring to "near banks" which by then had assets about one half as large as all the chartered banks. In the 1954-64 period the assets of these trust companies, mortgage and loan companies, credit unions and caisses populaires (Quebec credit unions) increased 26% per year, whereas the chartered banks' increased only 8%. In the 1964-68 period the annual increase for the near banks was 16%, for the chartered banks 14%.

Since then US banking interests have moved out on a much larger scale and under their own logo through their own provincially incorporated companies. **Bank of Canada Governor Gerald Bouey noted that by September of last year these "carpet bankers" had assets of 1 billion dollars. According to Richard Thompson, president of Toronto-Dominion Bank in a speech on April 19 this year, they had doubled their financial base to two billion and had spread in a little more than 2 years to 170 in number. They are estimated to be already doing 20% of the commercial financing in the country.**

The carpet bankers have little or no actual resources in the country. They open up in their brief cases in a hotel suite or an administrative office in downtown Montreal, Toronto or Vancouver and sell "commercial paper" on the Canadian market – in effect they accept long-range deposits on which they can borrow money on the Canadian market which they can in turn loan out on the Canadian market.

And they are no fly-by-night operators. They are branch plants of such giants as Chase Manhattan, the Bank of America and the Bank of Tokyo. First National City Bank is not waiting for its Canadian Citibank operation to become a full-fledged bank this year. It has set up Citicorp Financial Centres. J.W. Hannon Jr. of **Bankers Trust of New York, arranges direct loans in bundles of 50 or a 100 million dollars from an**

office in Toronto Commerce Court. Hannon's bank estimates Canadian capital needs in the next ten years to be about 150 billion dollars. This estimate is based on the same recognition as has been made by Douglas Peters, vice-president and chief economist of Toronto Dominion, that "the US today depends to a far greater degree upon Canada for renewable and non-renewable resources than it did at any time in the past."

The Canadian banks very early in the game, when in the early sixties US capital commenced to flood into Canada on a scale qualitatively greater than before, attempted to more effectively get cut into the action of the US corporate giants.

One means, of course, was to serve as bankers for the increasing number of newly establishing branch plant companies. including arranging loans for the US corporate owners who use local funds where possible in order to preserve their own for the highest possible profitability. **Another, was to strengthen their connections with the US owners by opening up places for them to actually sit on the Canadian boards of directors.**

It has long been customary for Canadian industrial giants, both those wholly Canadian-owned and those Canadian-owned but with substantial US investment, particularly those heavily dependent on the US market, **to seek US corporate representation on their boards. By such means they hoped to protect their market, obtain business know-how, ready access to capital, etc.** In respect to bank directorships, this practice, particularly since World War II, has been even more marked.

Banks are private corporations and are owned by investors who find it profitable to own shares. Bank stocks like others, are subject to market conditions. Last year. Bank of Montreal and Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce shares dropped to their lowest since 1971 – to \$15 and-\$22 a share respectively. But buying shares is not the only way to make a profit out of Canada's banks. **It can be even more profitable to direct the vast accumulation of liquid capital that the banks have at their disposal. It is the members of the boards of directors who determine this flow.**

Under the provisions of the Bank Act. to be a director one must own or represent 2,500 shares. However a board of directors can bring onto their board persons who possess or represent only 1.250 shares to the extent of one quarter of their number.

While enjoying their monopoly position. the nine chartered banks are in competition with one another, not on rates, the price of money – on this they stick together except when it comes to special deals – **but in the struggle for the big accounts, and to retain old and establish new corporate connections. This is done to a marked degree through the directors of their boards.**

The boards of directors review all loan requests for more than a million dollars on an individual basis. The banks do not disclose what proportion of their credit is extended to their own directors but the Royal Commission on Banking and Finance reported in 1962

that about 30% of all authorized credit lines of \$100,000 or more were to directors, their firms, or to corporations of which they were officers or directors.

Unlike directorships in other corporate bodies which are quite stable, reflecting the rigidly defined class structure of Canadian society, bank boards of directors, at one time if anything even more stable, have been undergoing considerable change, particularly over the past decade. This is above all due to the need of the indigenous Canadian capitalist class to retain and to develop vital connections with the most dynamic forces within capitalist circles, by all accounts US interests.

The Royal Bank has been notably successful. As of May last year. 35% of Royal's business involved US dollars. Some 15% of all bank deposits in Canadian banks are in US funds, half of them held by persons listed as resident in Canada and the other half by non-residents. **Almost 29% of the total 75 billion dollars in assets of the ten Canadian chartered banks are now in foreign currencies, reaching an all-time high of \$21.7 billion as of October 1974 – a five fold increase since 1968. A Royal executive observed with great satisfaction that "It took us 100 years to get to 10 billion in assets, and then only the next five years to get to 20 billion."**

In 1972 we had an occasion to make a detailed study of the members of the board of directors of three of the Big Five Canadian chartered banks. **A notable fact was the change in personnel of the boards between 1960 and 1971 – in the case of the Royal Bank – of its 43 directors in 1971 only 9 had been on the 1960 board. Perhaps the most significant change is, whereas the directors used to be in large part heads of Canadian investment houses and often heads of legal firms representing various corporate interests, today the active heads of the largest corporations in the country participate in person on the boards of directors.**

A very high proportion of Canadian bank directors are chief officers of wholly US-owned Canadian subsidiaries of some of the most powerful US corporations – some of them also chief officers or on the board of directors of the parent company itself in the United States and/or its subsidiaries in other countries.

There is no question that this process has continued. The Bank of Montreal pioneered when in 1966 it brought to the position of vice-president a total stranger to banking, in the person of Frederick H. McNeil. from the wholly US-owned subsidiary Ford of Canada. **This year, although he does not even yet qualify as a Canadian citizen as required by the Bank Act, the Bank of Montreal announced the appointment of William D. Mulholland as its president. From a partner in the big New York merchant banking firm Morgan Stanley, and president of the British Newfoundland Corporation and Churchill Falls (Labrador) Corporation (Brinco) in 1970, he now heads up Canada's number three bank. He became eligible for Canadian citizenship on January 1 st when he took office.**

Certainly, today, in the board rooms of the Canadian chartered banks we do not

find an assembly of Canadian business and financial tycoons banded together with the intention of furthering the particular interests of Canadian private capital as against US corporate power, insofar as it may be threatened by the US. *Instead, what the board rooms reveal to a truly remarkable degree is the extent of the integration of Canadian financial and business interests with those of the United States of America. In such a relationship there is no question as to the relative positions. Canadian finance capital is in a junior partnership with US finance capital in the common exploitation of the work force and the vast resources of Canada.*

Where we're at in the International Women's Year

After the May 10 March

by Ellie Kirzner

(from Forward, June 1975)

A woman participant in the Toronto May 10 march for women's rights received an interesting reply from the International Women's Year Secretariat when she wrote to complain about the lack of government action in the midst of all its rhetoric of concern. The office congratulated her for being part of the seven percent of Canadian women actively interested in women's rights. But, the letter went on, we are speaking to the 93 percent of women who are still not aware. Doubtless patronizing and buck-passing, the letter is also an instructive departure for an analysis of where the women's movement is at in International Women's Year.

Nourished in the general youth radicalization of the mid-sixties, in the marches supporting (Alabama Black) civil rights in Selma and opposing the war in Vietnam; rocked in the cradle of the struggle against the sexism of the new left, the women's rebellion emerged as part of the Marxist movement – the first group in Toronto was known as the Women's Liberation Front.

As a new force on the Canadian political scene, it generated a host of impressive writings. Unfortunately, however it suffered many of the problems of the new left. As the new left disbanded into counter-culture, the Company of Young Canadians and the dope scene, the women's movement it spawned got caught up in cliquish and inward turning ties of sisterhood and a theoretical concoction they mistakenly believed to be Marxist which was sectarian and formal.

When the report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women was published in 1970, the press began to back off its earlier distortions of the women's movement as shrewish bra-burners, and began to feature the sentiments beginning to permeate the wider society. The new left women, comfortable in their cozy friendship networks, were unable to respond.

One layer moved into establishing social service agencies for women – abortion referral, health collectives, research groups – at a certain point all made easier by the appearance of OFY and LIP grants. While highly imaginative and oftentimes useful, these projects provided an easy escape from the responsibility of consolidating a political leadership for the layers of women who were just awakening.

On the other hand, many of them developed a theoretical rationale for remaining in their narrow circles – one which made it a pitiful mockery of Marxism. Proclaiming that "sisterhood is bullshit," these women raised the spectre that the movement was being invaded by "bourgeois women." To counter this spectre, which in reality showed the power of the movement to attract new supporters from broader circles, they reacted with fantasies of "serving the people" by searching for welfare women to "patronize." In this

frenzied mistrust, where casual clothes were raised to a pedestal, any woman with a hair-do was suspect.

By the early 70's. this sectarian strain was reflected even in such organizations as the Waffle, where it was widely held that women were only oppressed at their place of work and that legal rights, and the abortion issue were " bourgeois" intrusions.

The Communist Party added to this economistic conception its own unique version of woman-as-nurturer. Not entirely sure that women could be trusted to build a movement rising out of their own aspirations, the CP has been ready at an instant to mesh women's liberation with anything else that comes along, even if it is directly counter to the present thrust of the women's movement.

And so, while many socialist women lost themselves to the debate over whether Margaret Trudeau was more oppressed than her gardener, they missed the possibility of forging relationships with and leading movements of the wider population of women. In 1970, the dramatic abortion caravan which toured the country building support for repealing the law was the last political action of the new left women as they retreated from the tasks of mass organizing. In rejecting the abortion reform as bourgeois they in fact turned their backs on the major challenge to build a mass-based Canadian movement.

The stage was now set for the Canadian government to cunningly reach out to the budding women's rebellion. Taking advantage of the confusion in the women's movement, the Liberal government moved unhindered to crown its own women leaders. The crafty people who brought us the CYC (*Company of Young Canadians, one of several federally-subsidized youth activist organizations –ed.*), OFY and LIP now presented us with the Advisory Council on the Status of Women. Installed in May of '73. the Council was designed for reassurance, although it was forced to concede to the movement by including in its numbers Esther Greenglass, an abortion law repeal activist and Grace Hartman of CUPE (Canadian Union of Public Employees).

It was a move brilliantly calculated to convey the government's "commitment" and concern about women's plight, at the same time as it was implementing only the most feeble and ineffectual of the Royal Commission's recommendations. Faced with a social rebellion charged with political meaning, the government was forced to recognize women's secondary status, which it proceeded to do by adopting the rhetoric of women's liberation argumentation and filling it with a content that was both patronizing and benign.

Just as "happiness is..." can be completed to suit the tastes of the beholder, so too "liberation" can be twisted into many political shapes. The government in its IWY propaganda has created a bizarre fantasy world where attitudes instead of social and economic structures exploit, and where any woman can willfully redefine her own status.

As the ads tell us: "WHY NOT" is "not a slogan but an attitude." "Perhaps the answer

lies with us" luxuriates one, as the government in its wisdom accounts for why women are denied equal pay, access to corporate boardrooms or to the professions. Effective in farming out the chore of liberating women to corporate chiefs, parents and individual women themselves, the government has treated women's oppression like a charity extravaganza.

=== *START BOX*=====

Union women meet

The May 3-4 conference of 250 union women at Humber College, Toronto is indicative of the broadening support for feminist ideas and aspirations. Sponsored by Humber College and the Toronto Labor Council, the conference attracted delegates from some 15 unions concentrated in the Toronto area.

Among other things the conference endorsed the May 10 march for women's rights and sent telegrams to the federal government demanding the release of Dr. Morgentaler.

The conference also decided to form a continuing coalition of trade union women to "coordinate women's caucuses in individual unions, to educate women to roles of leadership, and to act as a resource for women who wish to 'organize'." A fall conference has been called to establish the new coalition.

===== *END box* =====

It hasn't been roses for the government, though, for creating a definition of feminism has its hazards in a situation where the objective conditions limiting women are so monumental. Because the government has not even begun to contemplate solutions for the central problems of women – the enforcement of equal pay laws, childcare, and the choice of abortion, etc. – the federal Advisory Council, created to smell of roses, has become a thorn.

The minutes of the Advisory body, irrespective of the government's intent, read like an indictment rather than advice, as members counsel the government to extend childcare services, remove abortion from the Criminal Code, ensure equitable distribution of property upon marriage dissolution, and to release and pardon Dr. Morgentaler.

At the same time that their own Advisory Council has proven unmanageable, the vast range of IWY activities may prove to be equally troublesome to government policy makers. The IWY swindle itself should not obscure the significance of the wide and multi-levelled response to IWY itself – everything from the National Council of Jewish Women honoring the Year by putting the homes of career women on their annual house tour to the May 10th demonstration in Toronto. For an important dynamic is at work as the creeping spectre of politics intrudes upon the most placid of festivities.

Last January, at McMaster University, women met to plan an IWY Celebration-of-Women Day, "a day to say 'Yes, we are alive, and there's so much living to do.'" When the student council demanded that they include the "Right to Life" on a panel on pain of

losing their thousand dollar grant, the organizers were forced to clarify their own perspective on women's liberation. Finally deciding that women had the right to choose, on abortion and in all of life's dimensions, they stood firm in the face of the council's threats, declaring that their day for women had to express this basic conviction. In the end, the council, taken-aback by the women's firmness, backed down. Thus it was that a group loosely formed to plan a women's festival was cast into a significant political encounter.

There are those who have expressed impatience with this new and diffuse percolation of women's activity, wishing they could immediately make it socialist with a tip of their revolutionary wands. Such narrowness of vision permeated the high-powered negotiations between a number of groups, which went on from last July until November over plans for a Marxist Women's Conference to have taken place this month. Some three months after a fanciful debate over whether the conference would be a Canadian or an International one, the whole plan evaporated. The last tendency to pull out of the planning committee was predictably the Revolutionary Marxist Group (*an ultra-left splt off from the LSA --ed.*) who had for some time provided the backbone of the coalition and who deemed it the central responsibility of socialists in IWY to confer with other socialists. Socialists who find each other more endearing than the creative energies of newly-radicalizing women, are, like someone who takes sandwiches to a banquet, missing the real opportunities.

That the time is opportune for the organization of women was clearly signaled by the remarkable success of the May 10th march in Toronto. Initiated by , a small group of women, the endorsers' list continued to grow right to the day of the march, eventually encompassing over 60 organizations including the Toronto Labor Council and five locals of CUPE. The action was based upon the various constituencies in which women are active, the childcare movement being one of the best organized. Still it was clear as the preparations preceded that the many new women who came to participate, had been inspired to do so by the jailing of Dr. Morgentaler.

For the first time. the fragmented sectors of the women's rights sentiment were brought together around themes which are widely understood in the population and are at the same time serious attacks on the government's priorities. A tribute to the careful political thinking that went into the demonstration, was the enthusiastic response of many organizations that are not explicitly feminist like the YWCA.

Five central demands formed the basis of the march: equal pay for work of equal value, universal access to quality childcare, equal rights in marriage and property law, safe, effective birth control, remove abortion from the criminal code, and freedom for Dr. Morgentaler.

Open to organizations and individuals of all political stripes, and functioning through democratic procedures, the group continued to attract new women, many of whom counted May 10th as their first political activity.

Despite the overwhelming success of the march, some haunting shadows of the 1969 women's movement looked in from time to time at the planning sessions. One of the most important issues that arose in this context, was a debate over whether we were seeking "big name" speakers for the rally, a dispute finally settled in favor of rejecting "stars." The most serious implication of this expressed itself in the question of the spokesperson for the equal pay demand. Under the pressure of the League for Socialist Action the women rejected the concept of a representative of the organized trade union movement and favored instead a not very well known teacher militant. Considering that links between the women's and the trade union movement have historically been tenuous and that it is insulting and presumptuous to reject their elected leaderships, this decision was unfortunate. Further the composition of the demonstration itself corroborated that the women's movement has still far to go before it is able to encompass the majority of working women; as indeed It has a long way to go before it encompasses a significant layer of all women.

Despite such encumbrances, the ingredients that went into the making of the May 10 march are those that could form the basis of a new leadership in the women's 'movement – one which is political rather than counter-cultural, oriented to the masses of newly-radicalizing women rather than the confines of its own circle of friends.

As well, if the spirit of May 10th continues in demands that relate to the level of understanding of women beginning to radicalize, and directed to the objective needs of women, with the aim of building a mass movement, then the possibilities are boundless. As the surge of support for the imprisoned Dr. Morgentaler reveals, the women's movement is capable of responding to this sharpest of all slaps in the face on a large and Canada-wide scale.

The crafty and cynical IWY program of the Canadian government ironically may have proven itself a heaven-sent opportunity for the construction of a women's leadership and the organization of this unprecedented women's liberation sentiment. To take for once the advice of (*world-famous newspaper columnist –ed.*) Ann Landers: 'when life hands you a lemon – make lemonade.'



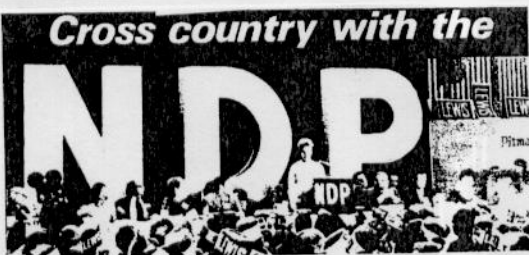
Give me your tired and huddled masses, your generals,
your privileged classes, your crooks and pimps
yearning to breathe free.

Open arms for Vietnam refuse

After the CIA succeeded in "screening" Chilean refugees out of Canada, it "somehow" managed to arrange for the speedy clearance of former South Vietnamese General Dang Van Quang, described by one US state department official as "perhaps the epitome of everything that was wrong in South Viet Nam." This notorious opium pusher and CIA confidant, "party to some of their most sordid and embarrassing secrets" had to be kept quiet. He couldn't remain in the US because of the likelihood of protests, so the CIA

sent him to Canada where they felt there would be little protest.

Meanwhile, Derek Blackburn (NDP MP-Brant) has publicly revealed that Nelson Bardico, an alleged terrorist bomber and self-confessed CIA agent was given landed immigrant status in Canada a year after he was ordered deported. His work for the CIA in Uruguay makes him an outrageous presence inasmuch as "he is an expert on all left-wing activities in South America, apparently living in an area where there are some 40,000 people from that area.



By Wayne Roberts

Nat'l campaign needed

Syncrude speaking, if something isn't done about the corporate energy giants soon, we're going to be paying a dollar for a gallon of gas.

Since the terms of the Syncrude energy swindle became known — where by the various Canadian governments underwrite a \$528 million investment by a consortium of American multinationals with \$1,472 millions of taxpayers' money — the NDP has presented the alternative of public ownership. A meeting of federal and provincial NDP leaders, shortly after the sell-out, slammed the government giveaway, which brings no lower prices or greater public control, and argued for public control of the industry. The demand for public ownership of the energy industry has since been voiced by all the candidates for the NDP federal leadership and all major spokespersons for the NDP.

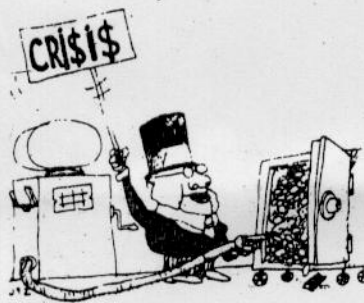
But the Syncrude oil barons are still laughing all the way to the bank. What is needed now is a massive pan-Canadian campaign to thwart the price-goug-

ing designs of the oil bosses and to demand full public ownership of the industry. Finely honed speeches in a parliament dominated by Liberals and Tories are not enough.

A small beginning in this direction has been coordinated by the federal NDP and CLC leaderships. They have published a four-page tabloid *The Athabaska Bad News*, to launch a Movement To End The Syncrude Sell-Out. Advertisements announcing the movement have been placed in most NDP newspapers. A Hamilton public meeting, co-sponsored by the Hamilton NDP and Steelworkers Area Council, drew 200 people who unanimously called for public ownership.

These actions are only beginning to tap the possibilities of a pan-Canadian movement demanding public ownership. There are many groups outside the official labor movement and the NDP that would be involved. The National Farmers Union has called for public ownership. Leading spokespersons for the Waffle and even the Committee for an Independent Canada support the call, as do a number of prominent but unattached individuals.

One of the major problems of the NDP is the reluctance of its leadership to initiate major public campaigns. They prefer to rely on parliamentary statements which in some cases just make the record. This is a burning issue with mass appeal that can win the support of millions. The NDP has the structures and connections to initiate such a movement. It is through such campaigns that it can be built into a mass, deeply rooted movement.



Toronto Sezione

The Toronto *Sezione Italiana* now stands at about 60 people who have in turn recruited about 450 Italians to different NDP ridings.

They are carrying out a number of educational, service and organizing projects. They have established a lending library and a weekly course on socialism and the labor movement.

They provide legal and other assistance for people having problems with citizenship application. Unemployment Insurance and Workmen's Compensation. Recently a women's and a youth group have been organized. The obviously energetic group has also produced 15 half-hour programs on the NDP for local cable and TV networks and the first issue of a newspaper.

Ont. council cares more

In preparation for the upcoming Ontario elections, the NDP parliamentary leadership is trying to take hold of the immense possibilities generated by unprecedented disillusionment with Tory misrule. Buoyed by recent by-election successes and a one million dollar war-chest, they expect to do well in at least 20 ridings which went to the Conservatives in the last election, but where the NDP placed a close second.

There is danger, however, in the NDP election strategists being lured by the sparkle of fool's-gold held up by the ad agency hired for the campaign. They reason that the NDP was considered too radical in the last election and that gains can be made by toning down the image and recasting programmatic priorities. Stressing the new image of Lewis, who is obliging the admen by smiling more and speaking slower on TV, they are featuring a campaign poster of Lewis hugging a warmly gazing daughter. They have even gone to the lengths of replacing the orange-touched campaign posters of the last election with a more subdued brown. Their apolitical campaign slogan "Care a little more. Vote NDP" had to be forcefully rejected by Provincial Council delegates. It sounds like we're trying to sell a brand of diapers, one delegate complained.

These sorties into ad-land are part of a calculated image orientation which Lewis hopes will reinforce the legitimacy of the party in the province. "We're not seen as menacing or threatening or in any sense polarizing Ontario, but we're seen much more as part of the province." Campaign organizer Surich hopes to bolster this further. "We'll be less self-righteous and know it all" this time, he says, and will concentrate instead on "people-oriented" and local-oriented issues and candidates rather than the "abstract economics we've had in the past."

A recent action by Lewis clearly re-

veals the more directly political dangers involved in this strategy. What better way to avoid polarizing the province and avoiding abstract economics than scorching teachers for wage demands and urging them to cool it? In thus echoing the propaganda of Tory hucksters who are trying to create a scare campaign over public workers and hide the real issues of the social service cut-backs, Lewis is performing a disservice to the working class and the party.

This has nothing to do with the stated hope of the campaign of presenting socialism with a human face. It is the duty of a mass labor party like the NDP to present the labor alternative in the most dramatic and forceful way possible, especially to people newly aware of the depravity of capitalism. There is no danger but only humanity in the anger and compassion that is aroused by the NDP's expose of lives cut short, maimed and destroyed in the factories and mines by capitalism's ruthless drive for profit. In these cases, the party is reaching out to working people based on their real needs.

In the Toronto ridings where nominations have been contested, this seems to be the wish of the NDP membership. In at least two cases, hotly contested nominations have led to the doubling and tripling of membership, resulting in each case in victory for candidates identifying with the angry working class roots of the party. In a third case, both candidates stood on the activist militant mood of the riding, victory going to the woman candidate stressing her long role in the riding and the vital relationship between feminism and socialism.

There too is socialism with a human face, with warmth and anger. The NDP will meet with success if it continues to relate to the objective needs — not the admen's calculations of the moods — and project the way forward with the class-based program of the NDP.

Federal leadership

"As a socialist party we have to now go beyond the welfare state measures that have characterized ... the history of the party to date ... We must also face what might be called the socialist question: who controls the destiny of our country." These are the words of Ed Broadbent, speaking to an all-candidates meeting for the NDP leadership in British Columbia.

Coming from a candidate who tried to straddle the positions of the Waffle and Lewis in the polarized campaign for leadership in 1971, and coming from a man who most definitely represents the officialdom who are the architects of the welfare state strategy of the party, they reveal the radicalization that has taken place in the NDP ranks and which all candidates are forced to speak to. While the leadership campaign is not producing the enthusiasm and polarization which characterized the 1971 campaign, it is clear that impatience with the traditional standbys of the parliamentary leadership is still percolating throughout the party.

Because the NDP is a labor party with firm roots in the union movement and riding associations, it is a major political arena where the working class and its allies attempt to come to grips with the enormity of the problems created by capitalism and the dynamic program needed to tackle them.

Precisely because the NDP is the only mass party yet created by the labor movement, socialists are obliged to support the NDP, regardless of its leadership at any given time. At the same time, socialists have every interest in affecting the direction of the party. A leadership contest focuses the challenge to the party in terms of the program.

In this campaign, it is Rosemary Brown who best expresses the forces beginning to breathe new life into the party and who best expresses the crucial

questions facing the party. It is Rosemary Brown, whose campaign was first publicly conceived at last summer's women's conference in Winnipeg, who is most closely identified with the left of the party and least tied to the central administration which has created the unease in the party.

Beginning with the Winnipeg conference — one month after the other leadership candidates had been complicit in the federal party's directives to election candidates to avoid the abortion question as too controversial — she has persistently argued the intimate relationship between feminism and socialism. She has consistently presented the need for women's liberation in the framework of socialism.

Apart from highlighting this key aspect of socialist possibilities, she has also stated the key ideological question before the NDP. The NDP, she argued recently in Vancouver, must offer a clear alternative, "not as Liberals with a heart or Conservatives with a brain." On the key issues on which she has presented statements — poverty, natural resources, the environment, labor and women — she has argued for a forceful identification with the working class, and a clear presentation of the socialist alternative. "The onus is on us to deal with power structures in the country," she told a Vancouver meeting in a typical statement. "The economy has to be in the hands of the people. We realise it's not possible to be a strong and independent Canada unless we do have control and ownership of the economy."

The course she outlines: accentuating the working class base of the party, forcefully identifying with the women's movement and clearly presenting the socialist alternative — is the one which most clearly focuses the direction the party must take

Up to their old game

Readers of the Communist Party's *Canadian Tribune* may be puzzled by a May Day message calling for united economic and political action of the NDP, trade union movement and CP; especially as the CP has just announced it will be fielding a substantial slate of candidates, 15 of whom will be running in Toronto seats where the NDP has the greatest possibilities of winning. Whatever mystery exists in this posturing for working class unity (not to mention this relatively small formation posturing as a political party in competition with the labor-based NDP) is dispelled in the revelation of CP strategy explained in the same issue.

The Stalinists are up to their old liberal-reformist game of calling for a "democratic anti-monopoly alliance," their code word for the politics and organization of class collaboration. The political alliance they propose "would need to be based on the working class, the national and democratic forces in French Canada, the farmers, the middle strata, the *non-monopolist capitalists* (my emphasis), all those affected by monopoly policies. To be genuinely ef-

fective, it would have to include (my emphasis) the Communist Party, the New Democratic Party, the trade unions, farm organizations, youth and student organizations, associations of intellectuals and professionals, women's organizations and co-operatives." Since this would only have to include the working class components, presumably this figment of the CP's imagination could be led by "non-monopolists," not even anti-monopolists.

As the Canadian Communist Party's record of supporting the Soviet bureaucracy in its crushing of the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian uprisings fighting for socialist democracy slips into history, and with the detente easing their way, the CP has been making some headway in the student and youth milieu and in the trade union movement. But despite their sometimes more radical gestures and militant tone, the politics of their democratic anti-monopoly front places them far to the right of the NDP, which projects the concept of independent labor political action and labor to power.



B.C. NDP Premier Barrett has announced the appointment of Eric Kierans to head up the new British Columbia Savings and Trust Corp. "The major objective has been to give the people of British Columbia a real alternative to the traditional types of financial institutions that operate in the province," Barrett explained. "It will not need a usurious profit-making machine like the Canadian banks which made a 21 percent profit on deposits alone."

Eric Kierans won wide acclaim when, after stepping down as a Liberal top, he went on as a consultant to the Manitoba and NDP government and advised public ownership of the mines.



● AUG. 6 SHOULD LENINISTS JOIN THE NDP?

The speaker will take up the views of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky on mass labor party formations similar to the NDP in an attempt to answer this important question. The speaker is Harry Paine.



● AUG. 13 PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE AND DETENTE

What is the meaning of the Helsinki Accords? How has the victory of the Soviet and Cuban backed liberation forces in Angola affected detente? Should socialists support the Stockholm Peace Petition? Calvin Johansson will deal with these questions and others in his presentation.



● AUG. 20 IMPERIALISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN CANADA

In this book, Steve Moore and Debi Wells attempt to prove their thesis that Canada is an imperialist power in its own right and therefore nationalism in Canada is a reactionary phenomenon. The speaker, Dale Ritch, will discuss Moore and Wells' thesis by reviewing three important critiques which have recently appeared in Canadian socialist journals.

● AUG. 27 VIETNAM: ONE YEAR AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Speaker to be announced.

each Friday night at 8 pm

Forward Forum

53 Gerrard St. W.

(at Bay)

Lang's admission demands amnesty for Morgentaler

By Alice Klein

Morgentaler, seeker of justice for Canadian women, remains a prisoner of the Quebec Government for a crime of which two juries found him innocent. It is this fact which exposes the lengths to which both the Quebec and Canadian Governments are prepared to go to halt the rising tide of the movement which is confronting the laws and structures that enforce the degradation of women.

They have outdone even themselves. Not only have they frozen Morgentaler's assets in the hopes of restricting his ability to conduct his legal defense; not only have they heaped charge upon charge on him when in normal practice such similar charges are dealt with together; not only have they given him the most severe sentence ever given to a doctor accused of that "crime"; not only have they foisted surprise court appearances on him without the knowledge of his lawyer; not only have they treated him with such good grace that he is now recovering from a heart attack; but in addition they have used an obscure section of law not used in the entire history of jurisprudence in Canada to place him behind bars.

But this last act, the overturning of a jury verdict by the Supreme Court proved to be the last straw for many Canadians. Among these were weighty personages spanning the breadth of Canadian society.

In Montreal, over 60,000 signatures in one week were collected demanding Morgentaler's release, after the CFCF radio station committed its resources to circulating the petition. In Toronto a 24 hour vigil for Amnesty for Dr. Morgentaler was initiated out of a CARA planning meeting attended by close to 200 people. The Vigil, which continued in City Hall Square for 11 days, attracted enormous media attention and collected close to 4,000 signatures on a telegram demanding amnesty for Dr. Morgentaler. The Vigil was embarked upon in order to dramatize the plight of Dr. Morgentaler and to express publicly the outrage so many feel at a government response which so crassly makes a mockery of justice.

The Vigil was a success far beyond the organizers' dreams. From the surprising number of people who volunteered to staff the Vigil to the quiet man who dropped off orange juice to the Vigilers on his way to work early every morning, the experience was one treasured by all who participated. Determined to continue to use all possible ways of reaching the public, the Vigil ended its 24 hour stance at City Hall to

to remind us the fate that awaits those who stand up to injustice, particularly as regards women. For those struggling for women's right to choose, he is the symbol of the horrors and ugliness at the command of our opponents.

Lang's efforts to defuse the widespread anxieties of civil libertarians without releasing Morgentaler is totally unacceptable. In response, the Civil Liberties Association has demanded his immediate release, stating: "It is sheer cruelty for a society simultaneously to prolong a person's punishment and to impugn the basis for his punishment."

The government has tacitly admitted the injustice of the measures used to imprison him. They must now grant him amnesty and set him free.

Native people demand rights as a nation

"We, the Indian nation of the Northwest Territories, insist on the right to be regarded by ourselves and the world as a nation," declared the Indian Brotherhood of the NWT and the Metis Association of the NWT on July 19 at their second general assembly.

"We are like many other countries in the world that have taken back control of their own lives," Wally Firth, a Native and NDP member of Parliament for the NWT told the 300 delegates.

The assembly, which represents the 30,000 Natives who reside in the NWT and who outnumber the 12,000 non-Native residents, demanded that Natives should be allowed to establish their own Government by virtue of their majority in the north.

The struggle of Indian, Inuit and Metis people for self-determination is part of the struggle projected against the whittling away of native rights; attacks fueled in large measure by a federal government in service to the multinational corporations who wish to 'develop' the north for their own profit.

In this context, it is significant that the conference was also addressed by the president of the National Indian Brotherhood who called for a united front in land claim negotiations with the federal government. Both statements of the conference are far-reaching proposals which can begin to mobilize the native people of Canada in the struggle for their rights.



Portugal: the world watches

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forward

PUBLISHED IN THE INTEREST OF WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. 1 No. 10 August 1975

Rally revealed NDP search for left policy

By Wayne Roberts

As more than 1,500 delegates, representing 400,000 New Democrats from across the country, streamed into the Winnipeg convention, they were greeted with an issue of the Manitoba *New Democrat*

which editorialized "that the federal New Democratic Party must present a bold and constructive socialist alternative to the old-line parties." The emphasis of the NDP on social welfare had not solved the basic problems of society. "The present

economic crisis clearly requires the party to present a socialist program. The new leader of the party must clearly articulate the socialist plan for Canada. The party will follow enthusiastically."

Shortly after reading this, they were officially welcomed to the convention by the NDP premier of Manitoba, Ed Schreyer. Don't get involved in fierce political debates, he pleaded. It was the first of several leadership pleas to punctuate the aspirations of delegates.

As the climax to a leadership contest which evoked unprecedented unanimity on the presentation of radical menus for the hungry minds of New Democrats trying to come to grips with the enormity of the problems confronting working people, the convention quite naturally was steeped in a socialist atmosphere. It was often too much for the leadership to handle.

Radicalism has always been part of the NDP, rooted as it is in the labor movement of this country. Short years after the exit of the Waffle and the dissipation of organized left forces, it found a place to coalesce and express its energies in the campaign of Rosemary Brown. This new movement did not hang its hat in the corner however but burst onto the convention floor time and time again. Ed Schreyer's speech had to be presented many times.

A good part of these energies found focus in the gradual emergence of an organized women's caucus which took responsibility for the presentation of the women's rights issues to the convention. Battling shifting resolution regulations and watered-down composite resolutions, the caucus grew to encompass some fifty activists. And in the most serious and emotional rift in the convention they had to confront the leadership head-on over the case of Dr. Henry Morgentaler and woman's right to safe legal



Rosemary Brown and Ed Broadbent at NDP Convention.

British labor resists Wilson anti-union drive

By Ed Straight

As British Prime Minister Wilson moves to introduce legislation limiting wage increases to ten per cent while inflation soars at more than 25%, the economic and political situation in Britain is polarizing. As Wilson continues to move further to the right, the opposition to him becomes stronger and more well-defined.

The opposition to Wilson and his right wing course was launched in the campaign against the continued

British membership in the European Common Market. The two to one vote in favor of Britain remaining in the Common Market together with Wilson's drive to enforce a wage freeze have been used as evidence by most reporters to support their claim that the Left in Britain has been defeated.

What is the true picture? Was the Common Market vote a defeat of the Left? Has Harold Wilson been able to plunge ahead with his blatantly pro-capitalist plans for restoring the British economy at the expense of the working class without any strong and organized left opposition?

The answers are no. The opposition to the right-wing Labor Party and trade union bureaucracies is mounting within the ranks. The opposition to Wilson's economic plans has become so strong that it has forced the left Tribune group of Labor Party MP's to consider voting against Wilson. This in turn has forced Wilson to turn to support from the Liberals and Conservatives.

The pro-Market vote was not a definitive defeat of the left.

In fact a clear socialist, class-oriented alternative to the European Common Market was never presented. The campaign against the Common Market was organized primarily around slogans in defense of British nationalism and imperialism. It was this right-wing campaign that was defeated. Some of the potential that an anti-Market campaign would have had if it had been

Continued on page 2.

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Morgentaler

enter the street corners and the shopping plazas. In August, organizers are planning to set up shop at the Toronto CNE.

In the face of the massive and growing opposition to Dr. Morgentaler's jailing, Lang responded by introducing the repeal of Section 613, the section under which the Supreme Court was able to uphold the overturning of a jury acquittal in a package of amendments to the Criminal Code. This act was accompanied by his assurance that, in spite of the fact that the repeal of the section is a tacit admission that Morgentaler's imprisonment is unjust, neither he nor Trudeau had any intention of freeing Dr. Morgentaler. Only the genius of Otto Lang would consider that such blatant hypocrisy would satisfy those who are opposed to Morgentaler's jailing.

Dr. Henry Morgentaler, who in 1969 courageously decided to challenge the discriminatory abortion laws, alone if necessary, is at the centre of a drama that leaves no-one untouched.

For the government he is to be made into a scapegoat, a monument to remind us the fate that awaits those who stand up to injustice, particularly as regards women. For those struggling for women's right to choose, he is the symbol of the horrors and ugliness at the command of our opponents.

Lang's efforts to defuse the widespread anxieties of civil libertarians *without releasing Morgentaler* is totally unacceptable. In response, the Civil Liberties Association has demanded his immediate release, stating: "It is sheer cruelty for a society simultaneously to prolong a person's punishment and to impugn the basis for his punishment."

The government has tacitly admitted the injustice of the measures used to imprison him. They must now grant him amnesty and set him free.

Rally revealed NDP search for left policy

abortion.

The leadership of the party, through its control of the resolutions committee, amalgamates the variety of resolutions on a similar topic into a composite resolution. As has often happened before, the committee abused its authority on this and other issues by watering down rather than merely combining resolutions. They can then confront the convention with a "damned if we do and damned if we don't" situation. If resolutions are not accepted, they can only be referred back with instructions. In the meantime, the party is left without a position. The whole procedure of course gives an enormous edge to the established and official leadership, frequently reducing opponents to an appearance of petty obstruction and bickering.

In the case of the abortion issue, the convention was presented with resolutions affirming the party's faith in the jury system, without reference to the case of Dr. Morgentaler, now in jail despite the judgments of two successive juries. They presented abortion without reference to a woman's right to choose; as well as including elements of a

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"right to life" resolution from the Athabaska Riding, in both cases disregarding the majority of the riding association resolutions which had been explicit in these matters.

While this course on the part of the leadership was doubtless buttressed by the emergence of a small caucus proclaiming themselves 'socialists for life', their action was consistent with the leadership's longstanding efforts to scuttle the issue. Although David Lewis himself lost his seat in part due to the concerted efforts of "right to lifers", the leadership has held firm to the policy, enforced during the last election, to keep the party's long-standing position on this question a virtual secret, a secret that is, from everybody but our enemies. Despite the individual identification of prominent NDPers with the call for amnesty for Morgentaler, despite the repeatedly stated positions of party conventions on this issue, narrow electoral opportunism has dictated this course to the leadership. Speeches about radical new departures aside, they are unwilling to face the populace with an electoral "hot potato" even when it is based on the burning objective needs of hundreds of thousands of women and approved by majorities in all

public opinion polls.

In defense of this course, they threw the prestige and passion of former federal leader David Lewis and Manitoba Mines Minister Green on the line in defense of the resolution committee's wording. They tried to cow the women's caucus, imploring delegates not to entangle the universal importance of the jury system with the mere fate of one individual, and imploring delegates to cease their internal factionalism. Under this pressure, the referral of the women's committee lost.

The dynamic behind this conflict emerged in other resolutions before the convention. In composite resolutions on party principles, the economy, national development policy and multinational corporations, delegates challenged wordings which blunted the direction they wanted to take. Indeed, this convention witnessed more referrals of committee resolutions than any previous NDP convention.

Responding to the bland phrases of the resolution committee-backed principles of democratic socialism, aimed "to modify and control the operations" of monopolies by "where necessary" extending the principle of social ownership, former B.C. party president Frank Murphy urged: "we don't want to

modify and control monopolies, we want to abolish monopolies." He was followed by Rosemary Brown, candidate for the federal leadership. "We're stronger than this" she urged. "We're not interested in modifying and controlling the monopolistic productive and distributive organizations. We're interested in replacing them ... through public ownership and control and we should not be ashamed to say just that".

This type of intervention by Brown was not at all an unusual feature of her campaign. Indeed, despite the lack of funding and despite the spontaneous motion which brought pro-Brown delegates together, her campaign emerged as a focal point of the whole convention. From the first, a caucus-like formation enveloped her activities at the convention, co-ordinating the various aspects of her campaign, and organizing the presentation of the principles she supported to the convention. Growing to 100-strong at some points at the convention, this grouping met daily to exchange views, tactics, problems facing the left delegates. Operating in an open democratic manner, it was able to channel the activities of supporters,

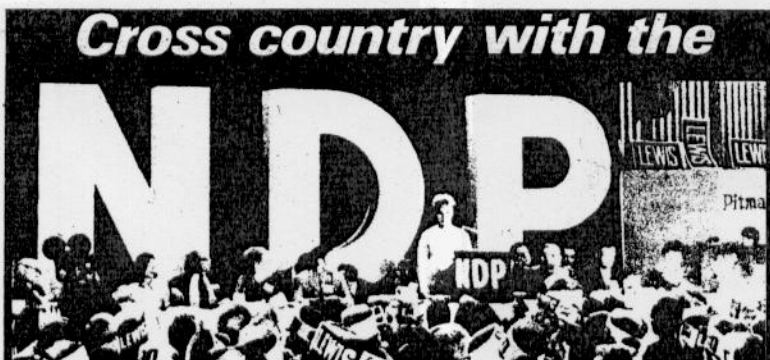
with frequent presentations on the convention floor. With the convention closing, plans were already being discussed for a newsletter and even future national tours by Brown to consolidate the forces and ideas that had been congealed.

The climax of the process of course was the leadership contest. It was always known that Brown's candidacy was strong.

As it turned out, it was strong enough to force the contest to a four ballot showdown with a final 948-648 victory for Broadbent. All this from a \$5,000 campaign (compared to \$15,000 for Broadbent) initiated at a women's conference at Winnipeg one year ago, led by a woman with none of the officially approved credentials.

This inspiring surge for Brown did not come out of a vacuum. Harney, Nystrom and Broadbent tried to tap her base as well - the profound search throughout the party ranks for real solutions to the problems of capitalism. That search could not easily be commandeered by the leadership primarily interested in parliamentary seats. The one instance of spontaneous applause for the Harney candidacy came when his nominator urged delegates to vote what they believed, not what the prominent parliamentarians said. It was this longing for something more profound that Brown captured.

The word "socialist" was used in this leadership contest and convention as never before. More than bombast and bluster, it reflects the mood of the NDP ranks which all candidates tried to touch. Its muse is the reality of the continuing search for a way out of the capitalist morass. That searching will continue to stalk through the NDP, frequently haunting its leaders, as it searches for the leadership and program that can win the NDP, and indeed all of Canada, to socialism.



By Wayne Roberts

Lewis hysteria on PLO

Put on the spot by Premier Davis's election move of opposing the entry of Palestinian delegates to the UN conference in Toronto, Stephen Lewis has tried to outdo a master of opportunism. In Lewis's July 9 press release, much is made of the planned PLO visit, an event that has already taken place last fall without protest when the Palestinian representative to the UN spoke in Toronto and Ottawa. His hysterical attack against this "outrage" goes so far in slurring the delegation, as to suggest that some Ontario residents "may be endangered."

While Lewis protests against the entry of "representatives of avowed international terrorism" nothing was heard from him or other political leaders when the self-admitted terrorist Menachem Beigin toured Canada as the "honourable" leader of the Israeli parliamentary opposition. Perhaps because the Israeli state won in 1948 it makes Beigin's terrorist attack on the village of Dair Yassin legitimate even though over

200 unarmed Palestinians were murdered.

Lewis could have done us all a service if he had treated the question of the Palestinians as a serious political matter. Instead, he joined the Zionist hysteria without the benefit or authority of a full convention discussion and decision on the question of the PLO and the rights of the Palestinians.

Opposition to the visit of the PLO does not stem so much from opposition to terrorism (as the lack of any uproar at the time of Beigin's visit shows), as it stems from a refusal to recognize the Palestinian people as a nationality, expelled from their native homeland in 1948, and entitled to political representation through their own institutions at the UN and elsewhere.

Derek Blackburn of the NDP federal caucus made a serious contribution at the recent Canadian Arab Federation convention based on these facts. It's time other NDP spokesmen did likewise.

Brass expels socialist

Chris Harries, an Ontario Federation of Students fieldworker and prominent Hamilton NDP activist for several years, was recently expelled from the Ontario NDP for his membership in the Independent Socialists. In his letter of protest, Harries denied the legitimacy of applying the section of the constitution referring to those "now working for another political party". The IS, he points out, is not a political party in any meaningful sense although it seeks to help construct a revolutionary party based on Marxist principles. In reality, then, the nub of the case for expulsion is his adherence to Marxist ideas.

Harries made no secret of his opposition to certain policies of the current NDP leadership. As his

letter points out, he opposes the idea of the NDP trying to sneak into power by denying its basic beliefs. "I don't believe socialism is going to come through a back door," he writes. "We may achieve office but only to act as waterboys for capitalism; we will never gain the power to destroy the capitalist system unless and until the working class is conscious both of the necessity for socialism and its own role in building a new society ... It might be a government of socialist members - it certainly won't be one of socialist measures. It wouldn't last long if it decided to act in a socialist fashion, which is to say in accordance with the principles of the party, and the reason why this is so is because we are not attempting to build a class

conscious workers' party."

Despite disagreements with the party leadership on this and other matters, Harries was always ready to follow the rules of democracy in the party, counting on the increased experiences of the ranks to place his positions in a majority. "The only way in which such a process can be short-circuited is by the substitution of administrative procedures for political debate." These administrative measures don't solve anything, he points out, for capital's attacks on labor continue. "Nothing is changed in the real world except that the workers' movements are pruned and their growth slowed."

The NDP does not belong to the parliamentary members or its provincial office staff. It belongs to the labor movement of this country. As

the labor movement struggles for a correct analysis of the challenges confronting workers and as it strives to elaborate a program to meet these challenges, differences inevitably arise and opinions inevitably shift with increasing experience. Just two years ago, almost the entire NDP leadership opposed public ownership of energy and proposed some gibberish about public control short of ownership. Now almost everyone in the party agrees with public ownership of energy.

Regardless of individual party members' attitudes to particular ideas or groupings, the party can only be weakened by the bureaucratic expulsion of socialist dissidents active in the NDP. The case of Chris Harries should be widely condemned in the ranks of the NDP.

Sask election issues

Despite the attempts by the press to portray the Saskatchewan provincial election as a dull affair with all distinctions between the parties blurred, the threat of "socialist hordes" was in the forefront of the Liberal and Tory attacks on the incumbent NDP government.

Christine Howard carried the banner for the Tories in Regina, proclaiming she had fled international socialism in Britain five years ago and would stand and fight here. Fellow Tory candidate Fred Dunbar stressed how he came to love free enterprise in his term with the ICC in the fifties. He opposed socialism in Saskatchewan on the basis of this experience in Vietnam, no doubt working hand in glove with U.S. imperialism. Needless to say, the Liberals joined the scare campaign chorus.

The NDP's land bank scheme, which has already brought 7920 acres under public ownership for future leasing, came under special attack.

Dissatisfaction with the NDP record was also expressed from the left. George Smith, president of the Regina Labor Council, spoke at a Waffle rally condemning the labor

record of the party. John Richards, former NDP MPP identified with the Waffle, stood for re-election as an independent socialist. Two native candidates, also long identified with the NDP, contested Northern ridings as independents in protest against the NDP record in Northern development and treatment of native

The failure to maintain and consolidate the NDP sweep of 1971 and the drop of the popular vote from 55% to 39% may indicate a return to normal voting patterns rather than a significant setback for the NDP. But for the struggles that lie ahead, especially those signified by the mining industry's persistent opposition to NDP tax policy, the meek stance of Premier Blakeney will not be sufficient. I've kept my feet on the ground, he kept apologising

To avoid being swept off his feet by the counter-offensive of business, he will have to undercut the hysteria of his opponents by a class-based appeal to Saskatchewan working people and counter-measures to corporate blackmail that can only result in nationalization of the potash and mining industry and future management under workers' control.



By Bill Saunders

It is with pleasure and considerable enthusiasm that socialists can review the letter by the Saskatchewan Waffle in the June-July issue of the Saskatchewan news magazine, *Next Year Country*. This letter, along with the documents of the Waffle's recent convention, marks an important step in the evolution of the group and requires serious consideration by other radicals.

The letter is a reply to a former Waffler and MLA, John Richards, who had called in a previous issue of NYC, for a new federated socialist party. Waffle's reply in its essence constitutes a rejection of social democratic reformism in all its versions and is a clear statement for revolutionary socialism.

The letter states that "... it has been amply demonstrated in numerous countries, that social democracy is incapable of transforming a capitalist society into a socialist society. In fact, social democracy merely buttresses the capitalist system. We in the Waffle are not interested in encouraging working people to repeat the mistakes of the past.

"What we are dedicated to is playing our part in the building of a socialist party in Canada which will be a part of and for the working class, a party capable of dismantling the capitalist state and replacing it with a workers' state."

Further on the statement says that, "part of our role right now is the support of progressive demands of trade unionists, farmers, native people, women, and unorganized workers in their battles against oppression and exploitation... Support for such immediate demands and progressive reforms is part of the struggle for our ultimate goal."

The first thing that strikes one familiar with the recent debates within the left, is that these statements are hardly those of a group drifting into bourgeois revolutionism and sundry other evils that many sectarians, blinded by anti-nationalist prejudice, have been prepared to ascribe to the Waffle.

These positions, backed by the extensive analysis of the imperialized character of Canada and the call for a democratic centralist form of organization contained in the convention document, embody most of the essential ideas required to build an effective revolutionary cadre.

To summarize these points in brief, they are:

- The rejection of the reformist perspective for social change;
- The Marxist understanding of the state as an engine of repression in capitalist society and the need to supplant it with a workers' state;
- A non-sectarian, non-linear view

Sask Waffle's left advance marred by NDP position

of the future development of revolutionary forces into a mass socialist, working class party (that is, they see themselves as a component in this process, not as "the party");

- The analysis of the imperialized nature of the Canadian social formation.

- The understanding of the need to participate in the workers' movement as it is and to present and struggle for demands that can focus and provide direction for the existing struggles of the workers (in contrast to the "revolutionary" phrase-mongering of many of the other left currents).

- Above all the recognition of the need for the revolutionaries (once they have worked out a clear analysis and programmatic basis of unity) to bind themselves together and centralize their experiences and action in a democratic centralist, combat type, organization.

It must be said, however, that there is a major weakness in the Waffle statements. This weakness is the lack of a strategic perspective for winning the most class conscious layers of the working class away from reformism to revolutionary socialist ideas and action. This gap is most clearly reflected in the Waffle's attitude to the NDP. Take the statement "... that social democracy is incapable of transforming a capitalist society into a socialist society. In fact, social democracy merely buttresses the capitalist system."

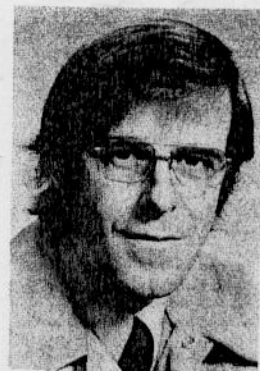
Although this idea is not wrong, it does not, by itself, constitute an adequate answer to the strategic challenge posed, to the workers' movement and to the left in particular, by the existence of the NDP.

At the risk of appearing to split hairs, the NDP and social democracy are not synonymous. Put briefly, the NDP is a labor party with a social democratic tendency dominating its leadership, (although it should also be pointed out here that even the leadership lacks a coherent, worked out ideology). While the outlook of the party as a whole is that of a vague and heterogeneous reformism, a high proportion of the rank and file activists in both Ontario and B.C. are consistently critical of the party and the leadership from the left (many of them were one-time adherents of the Waffle who stayed in the party). This situation, combined with the mass base of the party in the politically conscious layers of the working class (a minority at this time) gives rise to the continuing frustra-

tion of ever fresh layers of activists who push the party to adopt planks with the most radical and sometimes anti-capitalist implications, only to see the party leadership ignore, or actively sabotage them.

This process, however, has not produced and cannot produce a revolutionary political alternative to the present trade-union NDP leadership within the broad labor movement. The solution to the contradiction between the objective, (revolutionary) needs of the workers and the reformism of the NDP leadership (and their allies in the CLC) can only begin to be posed when the majority of the working class begins to move into the political arena to fight for their class interests under the blows of the deepening capitalist crisis. When they do begin to move they will confront the only visible, substantial political formation in the labor movement and attempt - as many have done before them - to make something out of it. Any socialists worth their salt will be on hand to go through that experience with them.

While we agree that socialists must avoid fooling themselves "... into believing that there was (or is) an easy parliamentary short cut to socialism", we should also recognize that a consistent class conscious approach to parliamentary politics is a step forward for most workers at this time. It will be in this struggle by the workers to realize their class interests through their parliamentar-



John Richards, former NDP MLA and Waffle supporter.

ist labor party, the NDP, that a mass left wing can develop, in both the NDP and the trade unions. If the experienced socialists are a conscious part of this struggle the chances of developing a mass revolutionary party in Canada are excellent. Abstention from this process, on the other hand, is the surest way to see that many working people will be condemned "to repeat the mistakes of the past."

The editorial in the same issue of NYC on the Saskatchewan elections goes a long way to pointing out the dilemma caused by the Waffle's outright rejection of the NDP. After first characterizing the New Democrats as "junior partners for the corporations", the editorial goes on to say that "it might be argued that a vote for the NDP represents more protection against the excesses of capitalism..." Although the editorial doesn't clearly espouse the "more protection" argument, there

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is still an apparent contradiction between the two statements. To the degree that the latter statement means anything at all, it can only be interpreted as an argument for a "lesser evil" style of capitalist politics (which surely the writer does not intend).

The most serious error, however, is contained in the idea that "... the most important political work for progressives will remain for later." In this period, when the class struggle as a whole remains at a fairly low "economist" level, most workers tend to see "politics" as the electoral process. Consequently a general election presents a unique opportunity for socialists to reach broader layers of workers on a higher political level than is possible in the average trade union struggle. This position is not a denigration of extra-parliamentary political action but a plea for an all-sided approach to class politics.

The position put forward in the editorial virtually condemns its adherents to abstention or at best commentary politics in the face of this important political experience.

In spite of these differences in strategic perspective, however, the continuing evolution of the Saskatchewan Waffle appears, from this corner, to be a highly favourable landmark in the development of the left in Canada. It is to be hoped that fraternal discussions on these matters can take place in the future.

Friedrich Engels once said that the socialist movement would develop through splits and fusions. It is quite clear that there have been quite enough splits and sectarian wrangles in the last few years. It is now high time socialists made serious long-range efforts for principled unity where the opportunities present themselves.

Native people demand rights as a nation

"We, the Indian nation of the Northwest Territories, insist on the right to be regarded by ourselves and the world as a nation," declared the Indian Brotherhood of the NWT and the Metis Association of the NWT on July 19 at their second general assembly.

"We are like many other countries in the world that have taken back control of their own lives," Wally Firth, a Native and NDP member of Parliament for the NWT told the 300 delegates.

The assembly, which represents the 30,000 Natives who reside in the NWT and who outnumber the 12,000 non-Native residents, demanded that Natives should be allowed to establish their own Government by virtue of their majority in the north.

The struggle of Indian, Inuit and Metis people for self-determination is part of the struggle projected against the whittling away of native rights; attacks fueled in large measure by a federal government in service to the multinational corporations who wish to 'develop' the north for their own profit.

In this context, it is significant that the conference was also addressed by the president of the National Indian Brotherhood who called for a united front in land claim negotiations with the federal government. Both statements of the conference are far-reaching proposals which can begin to mobilize the native people of Canada in the struggle for their rights.

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Cutbacks struggle tests emerging student leaders

By Abe Levi

In response to the attacks on the education system rooted in the cutbacks in funding during the current recession and the general ongoing radicalization, the latest round of student elections have indicated the beginnings of a resurgence of the Canadian student movement.

The principal indicators of this developing movement are the politicization of recent campus election campaigns and the formation and strengthening of various student organizations. Many campuses have elected student leaderships whose campaigns centred on the issue of cutbacks. At the University of Toronto, Waterloo, Trent, Brock and York Universities, cutbacks have become a common concern. In particular, York has experienced the formation of an activist student organization called the United Left Slate which won two-thirds of the student council seats including the presidency (Dale Ritch). The ongoing United Left Coalition now has a solid base of support and forms the leadership of the students as a whole. In Brock as well, a Brock Socialist Students' Coalition played a dynamic role in the recent Brock Student Union-sponsored Ontario Students Action Conference of 250 and continues to play an active role in the new student union.

On another level, the formation of Common Front alliances of students and workers has resulted in mass meetings of 1200 at the U. of T., 1000 at York and 300 at Carleton. Held in protest against the cutbacks of the past year, they demonstrate the dynamic generated by the common interests of students and workers uniting against the cutbacks.

There has also been a tendency for regional and national student organizations to be energised, reformed and strengthened. The Canadian Union of Students, which folded at the end of the boom of the student New Left radical exuberance, has been replaced by the National Union of Students (NUS). Similarly, in Quebec a National Association of Quebec Students has been formed to replace the defunct General Union of Quebec Students. The streng-

thening of regional unions like the Ontario and Atlantic Federations of Students and the Western Caucus are further illustrations. Up to now however, they have raised more hopes than issues.

Spurred on by the economic crisis of capitalism, these formations are being increasingly challenged to adopt a working class and socialist perspective. At the recent Ontario Federation of Students meeting, this process took the form of a debate on the strategy towards the upcoming provincial election. While the York delegation put forward a proposal to endorse the New Democratic Party's election campaign on the basis of the NDP's education policy of free tuition and a living stipend for students, an extensive debate ended in an 11 to 5 defeat for the proposal.

The rejection of this orientation, which will reduce OFS to the sidelines of the upcoming provincial elections and which leaves them without a choice to project to students, reveals the problems that must be overcome in the student movement. The current student leadership suffers from a legacy of narrow interest group lobbying practices toward government and an apathetic social service orientation to their student constituency. The same attitudes are even more strongly entrenched in the NUS which is trying to ride out its lack of firm pan-Canadian roots by refusing to adopt strong policy and political statements. This opportunism, geared to a bureaucratic adaptation to the problems of building a coalition rather than to the objective problem to be confronted, is heartily abetted by supporters of the Communist Party of Canada who have found niches at various levels of student organizations and who are opposed to any orientation to the NDP or the perspective of class based politics it opens up.

This "strategy" reverses the priorities which confront the emerging student leadership. The objective realities and necessities are the foundation of policy. It is then the task of a leadership to win their constituency to an understanding of this.



May 1973 Toronto City Hall rally of teachers, called to "stop the cutbacks, raise the ceilings".

The current so-called "flexible" policy not only leads to a dead end politically; it is based on contempt for the possibilities of winning students to a recognition of their situation. Certainly the representatives of business understand the primacy of the economic foundations of their cutbacks policy. As federal energy minister Macdonald stated this winter: "With more of our capital being spent in the energy sector, there is inevitably less available for the other goals our society may wish to achieve". These goals to be sacrificed to fill the coffers of the American oil corporations include "... improvements in the amount and quality of our housing, better health, welfare and educational systems; as well as other sectors of our economy, such as manufacturing and transportation." And according to Macdonald, Syncrude was only the beginning of a \$100 billion giveaway over the next ten years.

The revival of a student leadership is presently being tested in its ability to respond effectively to the cutbacks by demonstrating its capacity to define its allies and friends. While the Common Front perspective has generally been adopted (on paper) the failure to broaden it to the NDP on the political plane displays a lack of appreciation of the realities of students' and workers' common interests and a capitulation to non-political economist maneuverings. The coming school year will quickly pose the tasks before the student leaders in building the new student movement.

1975
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Two Manifestoes

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For a Radical, Revitalized NDP

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Turn Toward Socialism

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PRESENTED TO THE ONTARIO NDP CONVENTION
SUDBURY - SEPTEMBER 1975
AND TO THE BC - NDP CONVENTION
SEPTEMBER 1975

●

These manifestoes were reproduced in
FORWARD, a monthly paper of news,
discussion and analysis of the labor and
socialist struggle on the Canadian and
international arena.

A FORWARD PUBLICATION

For a Radical, Revitalized NDP

We, the undersigned members of the New Democratic Party, are deeply troubled about our party; its direction, its low morale, its apparent inability to persuade and excite people.

We have just witnessed in the past Federal election a decrease in our popular vote, and worse, an erosion of our vote in some working class areas. We call these defeats.

We reject the explanation that our recent electoral defeats were failures of technique or due to shortages of funds. We have examples to disprove such explanations. These are only a few: Spadina and St. Paul's had far more funds and paid workers this time, but our vote plunged. Trinity had virtually no money or organization: the vote decreased, but no more than it did in ridings with well-financed and — organized campaigns. York South's campaign could hardly have been improved on in terms of organization, literature, numbers of workers and signs, and we all know the sad result.

We know that it isn't a satisfactory answer to say that large numbers of people were so unnerved by minority government and so frightened by the threat of a wage and price freeze that they decided to play it safe and change their votes from N.D.P. to the presumed majority party. For one thing, no one has done the sort of in-depth analysis that would show this was so. But even if it were the case, wouldn't it prove that we had failed miserably to give the voters positive reasons for voting N.D.P.?

We fear, however, that easy an-

swers will be found and accepted for our electoral defeats, that many members will shrug them off as mere "set backs" or the result of dirty tricks by the opposition or black outs by the press. *And if that happens we'll continue to make the same mistakes:* trying to win with catchy slogans, spending money we don't have, concentrating on the issue the press and opposition are pushing, and relying heavily on election campaigns to gain ground.

Suppose we were to win large numbers of seats through the use of catchy slogans, great sums of money, brilliant organization, lawn signs for every positive voter. Would it mean that we could govern? Winning that way might really amount to losing — losing whatever integrity and principles we have.

There is clearly a difference between government and power. To have power — to govern effectively — we must have a "mass base." We must persuade large numbers of people of what we stand for, and we must be sure of what we stand for. Otherwise, we may form a government without power. We have seen examples of such governments. The Barrett Government had to dilute their Land Commission Act because the majority was not behind it, knew nothing about it beforehand, and therefore allowed big business to stampede public opinion against it. To give an extreme example, Allende was murdered, his government overthrown. *The mass base must be established before an election; after may be too late.*

Persuading people to vote N.D.P. is important, but it is not enough. Persuading people to be New Democrats is a lot tougher. And it is

not the same kind of job the opposition is faced with. Liberals and Conservatives can gain or maintain power by hustling votes: most people already know of or are at least prepared to tolerate any legislative programmes these parties want to introduce. But we in the N.D.P. have endorsed policies that would entail basic changes in the organization of society. Do we still intend to bring about such changes? Are we still radical? If so, it will not be possible to sneak up on several million people! We must confront Ontarians with a socialist alternative, encourage debate and understanding of our policies.

Where are we going wrong? Are we failing to get through to the voters? Or are we getting through to them and then being rejected?

We think both answers are partly correct. Often we don't get through to the voters. Let's stop hoping that the public media will come around to helping us. The day the media favours us will be the day we've either had the revolution or have sold out. Sometimes we do get through to the voters — but too often what we get through to them with is so incomplete, so moderate or watered down that it can scarcely seem a compelling alternative.

The following is an outline of some problem areas about which discussion would be helpful. It is not intended to be comprehensive; the authors are aware of numerous omissions. It is our hope that this paper might begin discussion leading to a radical, revitalized New Democratic Party.

1. The tendency towards moderation, becoming at times the rallying cry of the Party.

Sometimes this tendency is heard as "seeking the middle ground," sometimes as "aiming at the middle class vote" or at everyone. But the "middle ground" is something we arrive at after debate and action, after discarding various alternatives — not something to be aimed at. And trying to gain the middle class vote is fine — as long as we

are trying to gain it with a socialist programme. Unfortunately, that's not what we see happening.

Where we have tough, radical policies, shouldn't we unveil them now? And where we haven't, isn't it time we did? It's not very honest, and it's not even good strategy to wait till we've "won" office. The old-line parties have usurped the field when it comes to moderation. In fact, our Party is often in danger of their outflanking us on the left! The Canadian electorate plainly does not need another moderate party. Does it need a strong left? We think so, but the only way to know for sure is to try. At the least, we haven't much to lose: we're standing still now.

2. The alteration by small elected groups within the Party of policy decided at convention.

For instance, the last Federal Convention said categorically "NO" to the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline — not "if" as was stated during the last Federal campaign.

Do elected groups within the Party not trust the membership? And if not, is it because the membership doesn't deserve to be trusted, doesn't mean or understand what it says?

We realize that we can't muzzle those we elect and we recognize that new situations arise for which we have no precise policies but which must be dealt with. We therefore think the solution, if any, lies in being far more careful in choosing members of committees and candidates for public office: they must, above all, be people whom we trust and who trust us. The same people should not be elected time and again to committees and offices until they are regarded and regard themselves as permanent office-holders and indispensable. More members should be given (and take) the opportunity and responsibility of holding elected

office within the Party. Also, there should be more communication — dialogue — among us between conventions.

3. **The eagerness of many Party members to seek out "stars" to run as candidates** — that is, people with "a name" who may attract publicity in the capitalist press, and whether or not they have a long-term commitment to the N.D.P. (or socialism) or any known commitment at all.

By definition, such people cannot represent us — or anyone — and we have no basis for trusting them. We think that the choice of "star" candidates is symptomatic — of a cop-out from the hard work of persuading the public, on a one-to-one basis, of the value of our policies.

If we have riding associations which aren't well enough organized that they can themselves produce sound, reliable candidates with roots in those ridings, should we seriously consider not running candidates there at the present time — and instead get busy helping those riding associations to develop?

4. **The fact that the greatest activity of this Party revolves around election campaigns.**

Most of our energy, talent and money is directed towards election campaigns. Many of our members and supporters are completely inactive except at election time. If elections continue to be the culmination of our efforts, we must consider ourselves failures!

5. **Feelings of alienation by many women in the Party.**

We think that this is in part due to a lack of understanding of the historical causes of women's unequal status and oppression under capitalism. We note too, though, that the behaviour and attitudes of many male Party members are not consistent with the declared philosophy of the New Democratic Party.

That we, with our ringing phrases about equality and an end to exploitation, appeal to fewer women voters than men is a fact deserving analysis.

6. **Our lack of appeal to working class people, including trade unionists.**

Our problem is not that we are dominated by trade unionists! Instead, either our interests are not coinciding or we are not communicating. A socialist programme does not seem to appeal to trade union spokesmen, but it is our contention that trade unionists, like almost all workers, would respond in time to a clear, thorough socialist programme.

7. **The apparent growth of bureaucracy within our Party.**

It doesn't win more votes. It doesn't — despite the energy expended in clever campaigns and unusual prizes — gain more members. Nor educate. Nor result in better policy. Nor encourage rank-and-file members to run as candidates. Nor lighten the work-load of active members. Nor result in better organization in those ridings which most need assistance. But it sure costs money! In what way is it worth it?

8. **The chief roles of the leader and president as house leader and administrator respectively.**

The work of our leader in the House is frequently given no publicity outside the House. In any event, the real action is mostly outside the House.

Couldn't others take over some of the responsibilities of the leader and president? We have plenty of talent in this Party, inside and outside the House.

We suggest that both our leader and president, who must be among our most articulate spokesmen, spend a greater share of their time in the ridings, with rank-and-file members, local media, citizens' groups.

- 9 **The fact that many people today**

enter, leave, re-enter, quit, our Party.

We wonder if our Party has the honesty and integrity it once had. We believe that it used to require a major decision to join — a decision about, for example, the nature of capitalism, the need for social welfare measures, the possibility of spreading responsibility for government and decision-making among greater numbers of people, the value of economic planning, the limits of freedom. We admit that we may be merely nostalgic but in any event, we'd like to see a party that requires a major decision before joining.

10. The lack of political discussion and analysis within this Party.

When is the last time you went to a constituency meeting where you heard discussion of politics, political issues, political philosophy — as opposed to organizational debate or speeches? Is it correct to assume that because members' hearts are in the right places that we can gloss over the substance of politics and deal almost exclusively with organization and finances? In many ridings the only time there is any political discussion is when convention resolutions are voted on. (And why so many resolutions which repeat or contradict existing Party policy?) What about the basic questions, such as the following:

What is social democracy or democratic socialism? Are either of these something different from socialism? Do we have a philosophy that holds our policies together? If so, is our philosophy one no other party or organization can provide?

Does "selective intervention" in the economy make any sense? Capital is mobile and can, presumably, flee from the economic sectors intervened in. Should we be talking about a planned economy instead?

What is the value of public

ownership if the workers in publicly owned industries have no direct say in their operation?

We see too often the tragedy of old members — some from C.C.F. days — losing faith, and of new members losing patience. And not primarily because of electoral defeats, but because of the direction our Party is going in and its apparent silence between elections.

If the New Democratic Party continues its drift towards moderation at elections and conventions — which has the effect of confusing us with liberals — we shall disintegrate.

We believe that there is now a vacuum in Canadian politics, that this vacuum is on the left. The New Democratic Party can still fill that space, if we act now.

In signing this document we make no claim to having all the answers to problems besetting the Party. We call on all New Democrats to engage in a process of self-examination with a view to making our Party the powerful force it should be in Ontario politics. We consider it vital that the N.D.P. engage many more thousands of people in the political process — in the unions, in the work places, in our communities.

Let us be clear. We regard the New Democratic Party as still the only legitimate political expression of the economic and social aspirations of Canada's working people. It is our wish to make it an effective one. We respect the constitution of the Party and the rights of all other members; we do not challenge the leadership or wish to constitute ourselves as an organized caucus. What we want is that serious New Democrats join us in debating serious problems in a serious way.

To this end we invite you to take this paper to your riding association for discussion.

We intend to publish this paper or another along these lines in the New Democrat.

If you have any comments or ideas on where we might go from here, or if you wish to add your name to ours, write to Mary Boyce, 60 Tranby Ave., Toronto.

Turn Toward Socialism

During its first two years, the government has introduced legislation such as Mincome, Pharmacare, minimum wage increases, etc., which has improved the living conditions of many people in the province. While most government bills have been supported by all the capitalist parties, it is nevertheless important that it is an NDP government which has introduced these additions and extensions to the welfare state.

At the same time, there has been considerable concern within the NDP over the relationship of the government and the party. Lack of communication between the government and the party, the failure of the government to carry through on its commitments to the party and the lack of accountability to our policy have been the focus of party concern since the government was elected.

But is accountability the central question?

Accountability to party policy is certainly critical. If party policy is not translated into government legislation, and if the party is treated merely as a pressure group and election machine, the NDP, which has provided the only democratic socialist voice in B.C., cannot help but be weakened. And a weak party, in turn, ensures that the energy and base required to support socialist measures will be lacking.

Accountability is not, however, the central issue. The fact is that where our policy has proposed liberal reforms and extensions to the capitalist welfare state, the government has carried through, with the support of the other parties. But democratic socialism means

more than a modern welfare state or state capitalism. It substitutes for top-down capitalist institutions a new democracy in which people have real power over all aspects of their lives and in which production and distribution of goods and services are directed toward human needs rather than profits.

We all know that socialism cannot be introduced in one, two or three sittings of the B.C. legislature. But the central question is that of direction — whether government actions are weakening capitalism and substituting in its place elements of a new socialist society, or whether they are curbing minor abuses (while leaving the major abuse), extending welfare state measures (but not giving people real power over their lives) and reinforcing capitalism itself.

Is there a place in a socialist scheme for measures to insure "adequate profits" for corporate landlords, land developers and resource companies? For development plans undertaken without due consideration for their social and environmental effects? For public investments that yield private profits for resource companies? For organizing and sending private B.C. companies to make contacts in foreign markets? For imposing contracts, picketing restrictions and joint councils on trade unions and removing weapons they require? And what does it mean when Crown Corporations (Cancel, B.C. Hydro, etc.) are run the same way as private capitalist firms?

We should examine whether measures of this type lay the groundwork for a new socialist society, or whether they strengthen

the existing system and represent, at best, state capitalism. These are questions to which, at this point, all democratic socialists should give careful consideration.

Many central planks of our party policy, on the other hand, do provide a clear socialist direction:

- making serious inroads into the power and rights of capitalist enterprises: by requiring output and investment plans from firms for the purpose of provincial economic planning by removing the ability of firms to shut down their operations.
- introducing social ownership into areas ill-served by capitalist monopolies (e.g. food distribution, housing, communications) and ensuring that people receive all the benefits of new dynamic industries (e.g. social ownership of industries processing our natural resources).
- changing the balance of power between workers and employers by removing restrictions on picketing; by providing for company books to be open to workers; by breaking down authoritarian relations in industry through worker-representatives, elected by and responsible to workers, on the boards of directors of crown corporations and on decision-making bodies in resource companies.

- recognizing and combatting sexism: by creating a real universal program of child care which frees women to work and participate fully in social life; by affirmative action plans which place the onus of sexist discrimination on employers by a Ministry of Women's Rights which has the responsibility and power to fight sexism.

- providing the basis for a new recognition of our relation to and dependence upon the environment: by creating an Environment Ministry which has overriding authority in all matters affecting the environment and from which approval on matters affecting the environment must be received from all other departments.

- introducing and advancing the principle of democratic control in all areas (e.g. education, municipal

government, etc.)

Adherence to party policy in these areas (which introduce significant structural changes) would do much to move British Columbia in the direction of a democratic-socialist society. It would set in motion forces which lead to the weakening of capitalist institutions by providing a new socialist framework.

But these are the very areas in which the government has not moved or where it has done so only in a token manner. And unless the government changes its style, involves the party, and works with peoples' movements to develop mass support for its programs, it will not be able to move in a socialist direction.

We are concerned that unless the government embarks upon a program of truly socialist change it will lose the support of people who endorsed our party program. And socialist change cannot be effected by the government alone. Unless it is backed up by the socialist movement itself, organized in defense of the implementation of our central policies, our government may continue to isolate itself, to water down our policy, and be forced to back down before establishment pressures. No mass involvement is required to follow the capitalist road, but a government cannot follow the socialist road by itself.

The past two years have seen our government drift into a pattern of governing that does not incorporate the core of our policy nor involve our membership. Nor has it embarked upon those socialist changes that can kindle the enthusiasm of large numbers of ordinary people, on the job, in the schools, or in their communities.

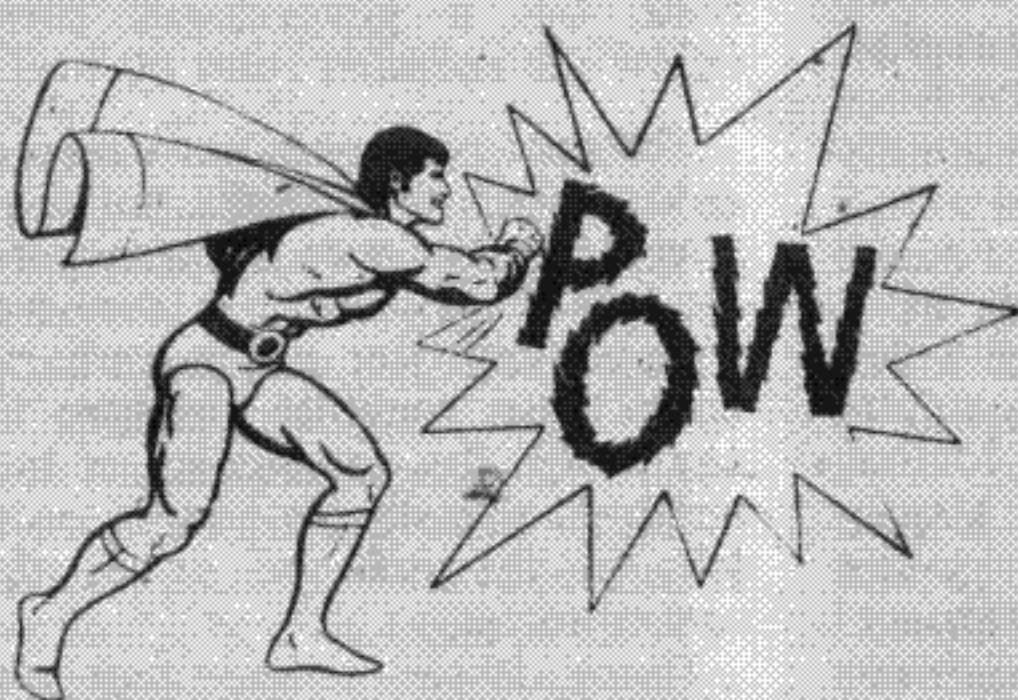
There is a choice now: the government can move in the direction of socialism by drawing upon the resources of the party to organize mass support behind our socialist program. Or, it can attempt to rest on its welfare state measures, engage in PR campaigns to persuade a passive and unconvinced electorate, and treat those in the

party who raise accountability to our socialist program as enemies.

We believe that in the interests of our party and in recognition of the years of effort that have gone into the formation of an NDP government, the time has now come for the government to turn towards socialism and to work with the party in the process of building a new socialist B.C.

Members of the Provincial Executive

Ron Anderson
Alan Artibise
Terri Ash
Hans Brown
Melodie Corrigan
John Gates
Roger Howard
Mike Lebowitz
Sven Robinson
Harold Steves
Hilda Thomas
Sharon Yandle



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FORWARD, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O., Toronto

September 12, 1975

Dear Comrades:

With the election in full swing and the new fall activities mounting, some important developments are taking place in our work and responsibilities. The purpose of this letter is to outline what they are and what tasks confront us immediately.

First, all comrades should note that the branch meeting night is being moved from Thursdays to Sundays beginning with the next meeting to take place on Sunday September 21 at 8:00 p.m. This was decided by last night's branch meeting as a result of the survey that I conducted to find out what nights comrades were available to attend. No week night was available to all the branch comrades.

Some comrades may feel that Sunday is not suitable to their weekend habits. Nonetheless, it must be borne in mind that Sunday was the only night feasible for all comrades. It should also be noted that Sunday has been a successful night for political meetings in the past, e.g. for years, the LSA used to hold its forums on Sunday nights, and more recently the Waffle in Toronto used to hold very successful Sunday night meetings even drawing in as many as 600 people.

Second, I would like to remind comrades of the very important forum to analyze the results of the election we will be holding on September 19 at OISE. The fact that we were successful in pulling together a panel of NDP candidates is a real coup for the Socialist League. Such discussions are a rarity in the NDP, and the fact that it is taking place - and under our auspices! - is striking testimony to our understanding of the unfolding radicalization within the NDP.

We have a big stake in making sure that the forum comes off well. That means we do not want the ultralefts or sectarians from the LSA, RMG, Sparts, or whatever, to destroy the atmosphere of the forum. If they come to speak, we should take care to address ourselves to the panel and the topic and not get sidetracked into responding to these disrupters. After all, the most important and obvious achievement of the forum is the panelists.

It is incumbent on each and every one of us to do our utmost to build this forum. Comrades should make every effort to bring out all their contacts. We should be taking copies of the forum notice to our election committee rooms either to hand out or to pin up on the bulletin board. We should always be carrying copies of Forward to show around and get subs, particularly as this issue of Forward is geared to NDPers and the election.

Third, we must make big efforts to circulate Forward as widely as possible. We have already mailed a copy of Forward to every NDP candidate along with some forum notices. On election night, we will be going around to committee rooms to distribute Forward and the forum leaflets.

We also want to do wide distributions at other meetings. If there are any good public meetings coming up - like all-candidates meetings - let me know by calling me at the headquarters (595-1284) so that we can coordinate and organize our distributions. Now is the time to act! We won't get such opportunities for another while.

Finally, the sub drive is on! 250 subs by October 4th or bust! The accompanying letter by the sub drive coordinator explains the drive.

Comradely,
Gord
Gord De torow

September 13th 75

Dear Comrade,

As you know, another election is around the corner, and like all such affairs it has created an atmosphere highly favorable to the reception of our ideas. At this opportune time, therefore, we are launching a vigorous Forward sub drive.

This election in particular should provide a splendid opportunity for expanding our influence. We have never been as integrated and respected in the NDP as we are now. Our political orientation is right on the button, as we can see from the opinion polls on all major issues. We have real possibilities ~~ofef~~ for expanding our scrawny sub base in this fertile environment.

The obvious contradiction of our situation is between the highly favorable objective conditions for our gaining a mass audience on the one hand, and the small size of our forces on the other. The subjective factor (in this case the energetic hustling of subs by comrades) attains the highest importance under these circumstances.

We have set ourselves the modest and attainable goal of 250 subs (we now have about 300) between now and October 4th. While there are, of course, no legal restrictions on the number that comrades are permitted to accumulate, that works out to about 10 per comrade. In the spirit of socialist emulation, moral incentives will be provided for overfulfillment of quotas.

The drive has a dual character. One aspect will be mobilizing at designated times to reach out to those NDPers who are strangers to our paper, and will consist of going from door to door where NDP signs are erected. For maximum effect, this must be done within a few days of the election, in key NDP ridings. The other aspect is getting renewals of existing subs, many of which have expired since they were sold at the time of the last federal election a year ago.

While we realize that comrades are very busy with their external work at this time, we also recognized/ that the most important aspect, and indeed the very aim of this work, is to build our movement. We cannot do this without reaching as wide an audience as possible with our paper. In this rough business, as Marx would have put it, we must expand or perish. As far as we are concerned, the latter alternative is ruled out, and there is but one way to go --- Forward!

Yours sincerely,

Al Roy
(Sub drive coordinator)

united left slate

is having a
conference

COME AND DECIDE WHAT THE LEFT
WILL BE DOING THIS YEAR

ALL SUPPORTERS OF THE U.L.S. INVITED

PLACE: S 169 ROSS
TIME: SAT. SEPT. 20,
1:00 pm

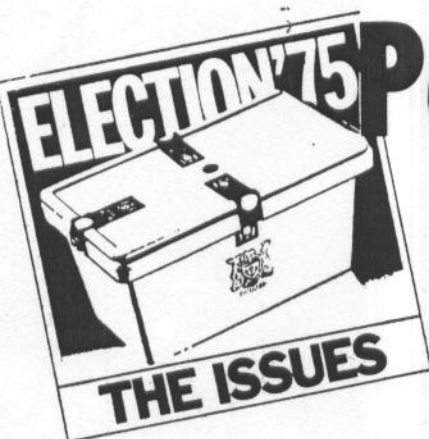
COME AND BUILD THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

a party too

CONTACT THE U.L.S. IN THE CYSF OFFICE CENTRAL SQUARE ROSS BUILD.

16/9/75

ON THE DAY AFTER THE ELECTION



Post-Election Roundup

With a panel of NDP candidates including:

BOB SHERWOOD - Don Mills

ANNE MARIE HILL - Scarborough East

HOWARD MOSCOE - Wilson Heights

. . . and others

At the Forward Forum

WHEN? **Friday, Sept. 19 at 8 pm**

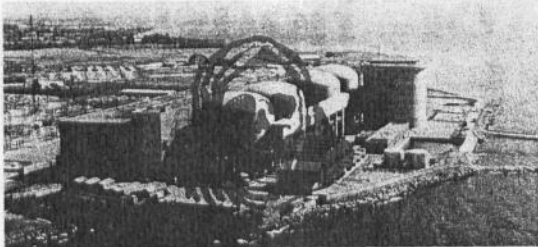
WHERE? **252 Bloor St. West—Room N 401**

- Everybody is welcome to attend.
This special forum is being held to provide a discussion of the results of the election, the significance of the campaign issues and the prospects before the party.

Tomorrow starts today

FORWARD FORUMS are held every Friday night
at 8:00 PM at 53 Gerrard St. West at Bay St.
(excepting the forum of Sept. 19)
For further information, call 595-1284

Nuclear power menace to humanity



Pickering nuclear station, produces power for today and radioactive poison to last a thousand years.

by Bill Saunders

Ever hear of Monkey Mountain or Welcome dump site? If not, most of us certainly will in the not too distant future. These and other sites near Port Hope and Port Granby east of Toronto near the shore of Lake Ontario are presently receiving up to 150 tons of highly radioactive and poisonous wastes per month. At the moment Eldorado Nuclear Ltd., a crown corporation set up to handle nuclear fuels and wastes, dumps liquid wastes containing radioactive arsenic, radium and nitrates into open cess pools at Port Granby.

When confronted with reports

that the lake water had been rendered unfit to drink by seepage from the site, an official of the Atomic Energy Control Board (the agency which supervises the dumps) blandly replied that the poisons were being diluted to "acceptable" levels by the time they reached the lake. He said that the toxic conditions applied only to the "ooze" on the beach. Similar phony assurances were being given to neighboring townsfolk and farmers even after several of their cows had wandered through breaks in the fence line and soon died after eating the grass on the site.

The bulk of these wastes are produced by the huge CANDU atomic power station in Pickering, barely 40 miles from downtown Toronto.

CANDU itself has been having more than its share of problems with leaking reactor tubes that have so far cost over \$140 million to fix and with the revelation by MPP Dr. Morton Shulman that he could have easily smuggled a bag full of dynamite into the spent fuel bay where the poisonous by-products of nuclear fission (mainly plutonium) are stored. All of these events, of course, are met with more soothing assurances by government and nuclear industry officials.

From Vienna, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) projects that nuclear plants will double their share of the world's generating capacity by the end of the decade because, the agency assures us, "nuclear power is still value for money." Whose money, we might ask, and does money mean so much when stacked against the survival of humanity?

At the Pacific Science Congress in Vancouver, leading British science writer and broadcaster Lord Ritchie Calder told delegates from

44 countries that plutonium is "the most terrible poison among all the substances of practical importance to man." By the year 2000 the US alone would be producing 500 tons of the vile stuff every year.

"No means are known to science or likely to be found, by which plutonium lodged in the body can ever be removed," he said. Furthermore, it should be noted that plutonium and many other nuclear wastes are both chemically poisonous and highly corrosive as well as radioactive. They remain in this state for hundreds and in some cases thousands of years - much longer than the life of any container now devised by industry.

In the US some 2300 scientists in all fields of science, including several Nobel prize winners and former participants in the development of the first atom bomb have warned President Gerald Ford against pressing ahead with US atomic power projects because of the problem posed by radioactive wastes.

In Switzerland, over ten thousand people have mobilized against the installation of a nuclear power plant in that country.

In New Brunswick an organization called the Maritime Coalition of Environmental Protection Associations, including women's groups, fishermen's organizations and the Nova Scotia NDP, has been formed to oppose the introduction of nuclear plants by the New Brunswick Electric Power Commission. They publish a paper called *Nuclear Reaction* which exposes the dangers of nuclear power. The movement can be reached through Mary Keith, 17 Sunset Dr., Saint John's, N.B. Despite the manifest danger and

Continued on page 2

forward

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. 1, No. 11 September 1975 Toronto 20 cents

Ontario NDP poses the labor alternative

by John Anderson

The Ontario general election, set for Sept. 18, has so far given rise to two distinct campaigns.

From the two capitalist party leaders we hear "law and order," "Sunday store hours," "government spending" and, of course, that old favorite of capitalist politicians, "honesty and integrity". On the other side of the fence, from the labor party - the NDP - is heard "low income housing", "corporate energy gouging", "farm land destruction", and above all "corporate industrial murder".

While Liberal leader Nixon harps on social service expenditures, NDP leader Lewis challenges the profit-oriented priorities of Ontario Hydro to the tune of an unnecessary expenditure of 5.2 billion dollars.

Lewis challenged the corporate domination of Hydro's board of



NDP Leader Lewis on a Sudbury picket line.

directors and counterposed government spending for a province-wide dental plan to the board's unjustified plans for headlong expansion at the expense of the working people.

On the housing front, the Liberals and Tories continue to serve up

toothless rent review boards. Their basic position was spelled out by North York mayor and Tory candidate, Mel Lastman, after a meeting with developers. He said "they (the developers) won't build as long as politicians keep talking(!) about rent controls." When asked about skyrocketing rents, he pinned the blame on the victims. He replied that "we're (who's we?) all living too high by demanding such luxuries as swimming pools..."

In this issue

Cdn radical history..

Mandel on Portugal ..

..

Lib-Tory platforms bankrupt on housing

by Alex Roy

One of the most urgent issues before the voters in the upcoming Ontario election is the housing situation, which is nothing short of scandalous. Home ownership has long been a distant dream for the vast majority of young working

power will be to spend 2 million of our tax dollars every year. This utterly impotent body - the landlords actually approve of it! - is rather feebly justified by provincial Housing Minister Donald Irvine on the grounds that if any landlord charges "unjustifiable" rent hikes,

The NDP remains committed to rent controls complemented by a major program of government-assisted housing construction. Lewis further spelled out what kind of assistance when he said that an NDP government would ask the developers to build on land they are now hoarding. If that failed (as it no doubt will) the government would "expropriate (their) land at its original purchase price plus holding costs - but give (them) no speculative gain." It would then proceed to build on it.

On oil prices: the NDP has advocated a continuation of the freeze due to expire Sept. 30. Lewis also attacked the Royal Commission on oil prices, headed by former federal civil servant Claude Isbister, as being so superficial and so heavily loaded in favor of the oil monopolies, that it could only serve up whitewash for future price increases.

Nowhere, however is the gap

Continued on page 2

Answer Bell extortion with nationalization

The Canadian public is being held to ransom by the most rapacious and profit-gouging monopoly - Bell Canada.

When Bell Canada applied for an "urgent" \$28 million rate increase from the Canadian Transport Commission this summer, the commission immediately granted half the requested increase and undertook to reconsider the second half this fall when it examines Bell's general rate increase application - worth \$40 million in added revenue over a full year.

But this was not enough for this monopoly which has about \$6 billion in assets and which earned over \$2 billion in revenue last year, representing a 12% annual profit increase. Bell immediately began major cutbacks in service. Homeowners who had been promised telephones within a week were informed suddenly that they would have to wait until next July because of a shortage of capital to obtain cable from its wholly owned subsidiary Northern Electric! The latest cutbacks occurred in Waterloo, Ontario where the company stopped installing telephones in several new subdivisions, although wiring to complete the job is on the homeowner's doorsteps.

The response of the Canadian government to Bell's pretenses that it cannot raise sufficient capital to maintain new installations and other usual services has been typical: someone in the Consumer and Commercial Relations Department has been instructed to look into it.

A much more logical response to Bell's blackmail tactics comes from the board of directors of the Civil Service Association of Ontario: "The Board of Directors of this (60,000 member) union feels the provincial government must be prepared to act and to stop at nothing short of nationalization,

Continued on page 2

Ontario NDP poses the labor alternative

Continued from page 1

between the two campaigns - that of the big business parties on the one hand and the labor party on the other - more glaring than on the issues of industrial safety and occupational health.

In Elliott Lake, where more than 40 miners have died of lung cancer because of hazardous conditions in the mine, Lewis proposed health and safety committees of workers with equal authority to that of management. He further stated that companies with unsafe conditions would be directed to shut down and pay workers in full while the hazard lasts.

Summing up the issue after a meeting with United Steelworkers Local 1005 safety committee, on the lung cancer hazards faced by coke oven workers, Lewis asked "Who in this world is willing to sacrifice one more life of a worker to the profits of the Steel Company of Canada?" Who, indeed!

Premier Davis hasn't opened his trap on this question so far, but the inaction of the Tory government speaks volumes. The NDP has exposed the complicity of the government department concerned in almost every case of industrial murder and mayhem.

In fact none of the big business spokesmen have dared to touch this explosive issue. No wonder, for this question strikes at the very heart of the profit system. The fact is, in this system, to one degree or another, every worker's life is sacrificed on the altar of profit. It's only a question of how brutally and how quickly.

In this area alone, Lewis and the NDP have done working people an enormous service by putting the issue in the public eye. He has, in fact, reached into an area that the trade union leaders should have taken up years ago.

Although, for the most part, the old line party leaders have tried to

pretend that the NDP doesn't exist in this campaign, certain other spokesmen for business interests have made their positions clear - in their own way.

F.P. Kendrick, president of the Insurance Information Bureau (a joint propaganda agency for most of the insurance companies operating in Ontario) announced that his backers were for a "free enterprise" government. Specifically one that would not nationalize any part of the insurance business. He made it clear that that meant campaigning against the NDP with its program for low cost government auto insurance.

More significantly, an editorial in the Aug. 13 *Toronto Star* declared that "... personal qualities of the three party leaders" are the main issue before the voters. This seems like a nice class-neutral approach. But the worthy editors are then forced to explain away their admission that NDP leader Stephen Lewis is probably personally more able than his opponents, with the assertion that "... Lewis labors under the handicap of heading what is perceived to be a radical party. He is a *spokesman for the trade unions* when unions are widely believed to be exploiting the public..." So! It's not lack of leadership qualities, but the working class base of the NDP, that prevents the worthy editors from looking on Lewis more favorably.

The *Star* editors aside, it should be clear that the NDP represents a real class alternative to the old line parties in this election. Not only is the party rooted in the main organizations of the working class, the trade unions, but the NDP's program, while still limited in its scope, clearly challenges the priorities of big business. It has proposed a series of concrete measures which will provide significant improvements to the quality of life of the working people.

In short Vote Labor

Vote NDP on Sept. 18th

■ SPECIAL FORWARD FORUM ■

Friday, September 19, at 8:00 PM

To be held at 252 Bloor St. West, Room N401

● POST-ELECTION ROUNDUP ●

assessing the results of the elections. Panel discussion with NDP candidates Bob Sherwood (Don Mills), Anne Marie Hill (Scarborough East), Howard Moscoe (Wilson Heights), and others.

Forward Forums are held every Friday night at 8 PM at 53 Gerrard St. W., Toronto - Info: 595-1284

Student leaders call for NDP election support

The following article was submitted to the Ontario Student, the official paper of the Ontario Federation of Students. We are reprinting sections of it as a service to our readers. It is abridged for space reasons.

WHY WE CALL FOR A VOTE TO THE NDP

Students have an important role to play in the upcoming provincial elections. There are approximately 200,000 post-secondary students in the province of Ontario, concentrated in a small minority of the ridings. The student vote by itself could ensure the victory of any particular party in many of these ridings.

The Conservative government is quite aware of this potential power and has cleverly scheduled the election at a time when it is nearly impossible to organize a serious campaign on the campuses..

This callous disregard of the rights of students by the Tories is quite in keeping with the record of the Conservative government. It is just another example of a long list of anti-student and anti-education measures. In 1972, tuition fees were raised \$100 and loan ceilings went up by \$200...

For the last three years, the operating budgets given to post-secondary institutions have fallen behind the rate of inflation. Spending was increased by only 7% per student in 1974/75 while inflation rose by more than 12%. The resulting disastrous effects on the quality of education and living conditions on the campuses are well known: Larger class sizes, fewer courses, crowded class rooms, and a freeze on the hiring of faculty and staff. The cost of student services has gone up drastically and the quality has lessened considerably as profits made from such essential services as food, books, health care and accommodation goes toward reducing budget deficits.

Wages of support staff and faculty have fallen behind the rate of inflation and the workloads of support and teaching staff have increased.

The Worst is Yet to Come!

On April 2 of this year James Auld, Minister of Colleges and Universities, outlined the future plans of the Tories: "it seems more likely that we are going to be thinking about increasing tuition fees rather than abolishing them in 1976/77." The long term effect of fee increases is to limit the accessibility of working class youth to post-secondary education...

What About the Liberals?

Essentially, the Tories and Liberals have the same policies with regards to education.

The Federal Liberal government's Peitchinis report recommends that students pay 58% of tuition costs compared to the Conservative government's COP-SEO report which specifies 50%. (Implementation of these levels would mean fees from \$1500 to \$2000!)...

Robert Nixon himself demonstrates that the Liberals in Ontario are also in favour of 'cutbacks'. "Ontario universities will have to economize, eliminate inefficiencies, and assume a *more modest* position in the province's spending priorities." That statement could easily be a quote from Bill Davis or James Auld...

The Tories and Liberals both want to reduce the percentage of the Gross Provincial Product that goes to finance education and other social services...

The last 20 years of Tory rule have seen the Corporate share of provincial income tax sink from 60% to 25% while the share of personal income tax rose from 25% to 75%! The Liberals in last year's Federal budget reduced taxes on manufacturing corporations from 49% to 40% while the Provincial Liberals call for an end to the land speculation tax. Is there really any difference?

Both Liberals and Tories favour cutbacks because both parties want to rationalize the education system to meet the needs of the corporations...

The only alternative - the NDP

Fortunately, there is an alter-

native to the big business parties in the upcoming election. That alternative is the New Democratic Party, the party which is funded and controlled not by corporations but by teachers, farmers, labor unions and working people.

The NDP has a clear and unambiguous programme for post-secondary education. The following quotes from the NDP education policy are very illustrative: "Everyone has a right to a post-secondary education... There should be no tuition fees, and a decent living stipend should be available to students. The education policy of the NDP is part of a much broader goal of democratic socialism - an end to economic and social injustices, the proper development of our economy, the public ownership of our resources, and an end to sex discrimination and an education system that both challenges and liberates the individual."

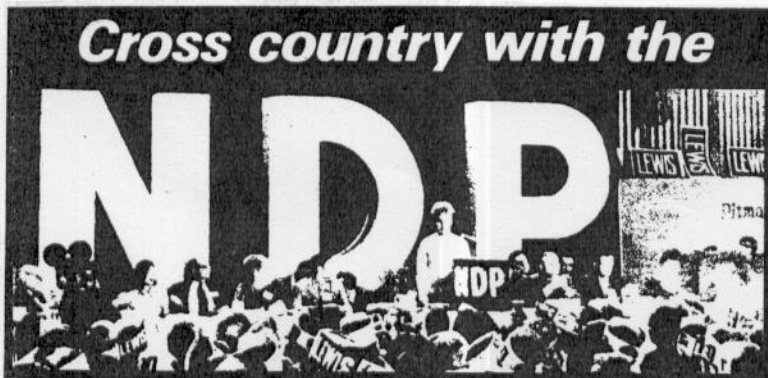
The NDP would change the tax structure, shifting the burden from individual and property taxes and placing this burden where it belongs, on the corporations. The money to pay for an expanded education system is available; remember that the Tories somehow found \$100 million to give away to the American oil corporations that control Syncrude.

Of course, the election of an NDP government is not a panacea to all the problems of the world, but it is an important step in the right direction.

As responsible elected student council leaders we feel fully confident that we have a mandate to call for a vote to the NDP. Anyone who is serious in fighting against the educational cutbacks and in representing the interests of the students, staff and faculty on the campuses in Ontario can come to only one conclusion with regard to the upcoming provincial election.

VOTE NDP!

Luke Aujâme
President McMaster
Union of Graduate Students
Dale Ritch
President, Council of
York Student Federation



By Wayne Roberts

Taxing potash lords

The Saskatchewan NDP government, just returned to office with a new mandate, is showing incredible restraint in the face of outrageous defiance by US corporations that exploit the vast potash deposits in the province. Organized in the so-called Canadian Potash Producers Association, some 12 companies are taking the government right to the wall on payment of some \$30 million of taxes long outstanding.

They are challenging the province's potash reserve tax legislation before the courts and are refusing to pay the tax pending court decision unless the government gives assurances, in advance of the court's decision, that the money will be returned.

Mineral Resources Minister Ed Whalen expresses amazement "at

the defiant attitude of the companies" and has instructed his department to draft appropriate tax legislation on several options for cabinet consideration. Among the options are forfeiture proceedings on freeholds, cancellation of licenses or leases and nationalization. While invested with plenty of power to act the government has been making endless appeals to sweet reason. In the process it has revealed that the companies have even refused to make certain key figures available to it. The case for public ownership of this natural resource, a key component of fertilizer widely used in the province, has been more than established - and certainly the government should seize the corporations' books and open them to public inspection, to bring the public fully into the picture.

Consensus criticised

Alf Gleave in a special contribution to the *Commonwealth* on the NDP federal convention expresses considerable concern about the "carefully prepared pre-digested middle of the road statements of policy which were presented to the delegates."

The delegates' views "were much sharper and more partisan than that of the leadership," and resolutions from the resolutions committee of the National Council "were rejected as being too soft and inconclusive."

But he zeroes in on the debate on birth control and abortion and a speaker who at one point in the debate "pleaded with the delegates who were crowding to the microphone to stop 'tearing the convention apart.'"

"Up till this point in time," notes Gleave, "the NDP-CCF has not been a party of consensus, that worked out policy in committees and back rooms which the convention delegates were expected to accept and approve..." The tradition and practice of the NDP, according to Gleave, has been "to debate the issues, to face the facts, and accept the decision of the convention... If we have now come to a policy of seeking consensus rather than majority conclusions it will be a very different party."

The unnamed speaker who tried to block the debate with the threat that the unity of the party was involved was none other than David Lewis - now retired national leader of the party.

Program on abortion

What is the NDP's position on abortion?

Under the assault of the so-called Right To Life movement, spearheaded by that powerhouse of reaction, the Catholic hierarchy, more accurately - the compulsory pregnancy movement, many NDPers, including party candidates now often run for cover and at times actually repudiate part policy.

For International Women's Year, the NDP central office at 301 Metcalfe St., Ottawa, has pulled together, in a handy pamphlet form, key resolutions dealing with these matters that have been passed by federal conventions.

On the question of birth control and the right of a woman to seek and

obtain an abortion should she choose to do so, the 1971 convention called for the removal of section 237 from the Criminal Code, pardons for all qualified medical practitioners convicted under either Section 237 or Section 150, and the provision of adequate facilities in hospitals or special clinics for sterilization and abortion procedures.

The conventions of the various provincial sections have been even more up to date and forthright - particularly the BC conventions through the efforts of the BC NDP Standing Committee on Women's Rights which is a vigorous force for dropping all charges against Dr. Morgentaler and his immediate release.



Hilda Thomas

Call for left caucus

"I think it is now possible for women and men in the party to agree on an alliance based on the principles so briefly and sketchily described here," writes leading BC NDPer Hilda Thomas in an Open Letter appearing in the July issue of *Priorities*.

Thomas draws these conclusions from the experiences gained in the Rosemary Brown leadership campaign at the Winnipeg federal convention. "The Brown campaign attempted to establish certain principles which are in our view, fundamental to a socialist position," and she synthesizes them as the prin-

ciples upon which an NDP alliance could be based:

"1. Feminism. The theoretical basis for this commitment has been developed in a position paper entitled 'Feminism and Socialism' delivered at the Learned Societies Conference in Edmonton. We would like to publish this paper in pamphlet form.

"2. The principle of open and collective decision making. In our campaign literature we spoke of a new style of politics, both personal and collective, which has arisen out of the women's movement.

"3. The development of a meaningful alliance with the labor move-

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ment. Support from the BC Federation of Labor and from rank and file labor delegates, chiefly from BC, but also from other parts of the country (e.g. Sudbury and the Maritimes) was of crucial importance in the Brown campaign. We believe that the party must take an unqualified stand in its support of the labor movement, and that the theoretical basis for our alliance with labor must be much better understood within the party.

"4. The development of policies to counter the centralist and continentalist program of the Liberal government. This means opposition to the welfare state, whether capitalist or social democrat, and the acceptance of public ownership of the economy, workers' control, decentralization, and regional self-sufficiency as basic elements in a socialist policy."

Thomas invites all readers to respond to her letter.

Waffle invited back

A changed and very welcome note has been struck by the NDP weekly *Commonwealth* published in Saskatchewan - the closest, sadly enough, that the NDP has to a national publication.

"A prompt reconciliation" should be made, say the editors in the July 30 issue, with the Saskatchewan Waffle. The occasion of this radical proposal, which will no doubt disturb those leaders of the

NDP who thought they could solve political problems by organizational ukase, is a tribute to John Richards.

Richards was elected as an NDP MLA in 1971, left in 1973 when the hatchet fell on the Waffle to sit as an independent, and contested the recent Saskatchewan elections. Richards ran last in a four-way race, polling half the official NDP candidate's vote. Militant Metis leaders Frank Tomkins and Rod

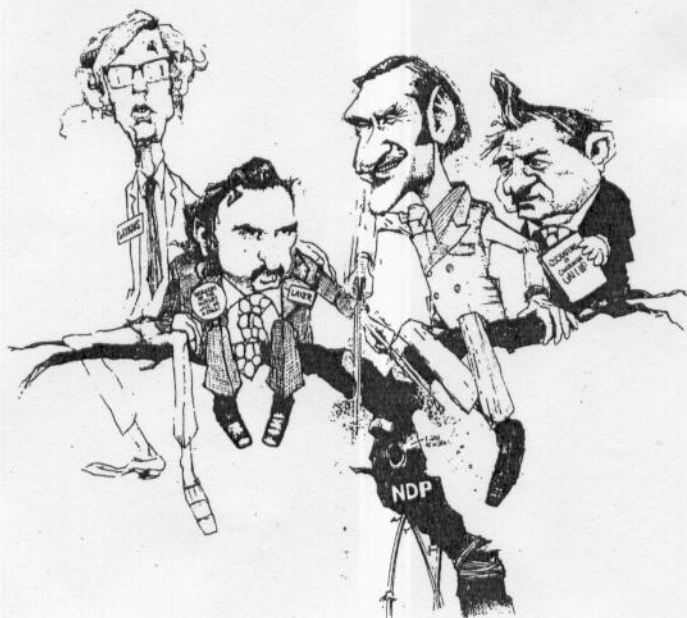
Bishop also ran as independents in seats which the NDP won handily, despite a resurgence of the Tories.

While the editorial is a tribute to Richards as an individual and as a politician, it notes that his candidacy found support among an important body of NDPers. It also notes that the Waffle in Saskatchewan besides playing a useful role, publishes "an exceptional magazine in *Next Year Country*".

"We believe," the editors wrote "that the NDP in Saskatchewan will be a better party if we can again reunite with many of the persons who left with the Waffle... It is an influence that should be fully represented in the NDP."

We heartily concur and hope that the editors of the *Commonwealth* will find extensive support which will enable them and others to stand up to the trade union and party bureaucrats and rid the party of the atmosphere that they generated and which led to the split-expulsion of Waffle both from the Saskatchewan and the Ontario NDP.

Wafflers in some areas, with the failure of their electoralist efforts, have been trickling back into the NDP. Having long held the view that Canadian socialists should have a long range strategic orientation to the NDP, and as advocates of a socialist NDP policy and the formation of a socialist wing to effectively work for such a policy, we hope that the *Commonwealth's* position will help to turn that trickle into a flood.



Toronto rally protests Ottawa exclusion of PLO

by G. Deutch

In the wake of the Canadian government's shameful capitulation to Zionist pressures to prevent PLO representation at the UN Crime Conference scheduled for Toronto, a coalition of forces has recently formed an Ad Hoc Committee to Support P.L.O. Rights as Recognized by the U.N. This committee held its first public meeting in Toronto on August 8. Two hundred people attended to hear various speakers defend the right of PLO representatives, as legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people - recognized by the UN, to appear and speak in Canada. The tone of the meeting was set by denunciations of the government's action.

This was a welcome solidarity with the Arab community which has suffered a fire-bombing of the Arab Information Centre in Toronto, the planting of a live bomb at a recent conference of the Canadian Arab Federation, job harassments, anti-Arab attacks in our "neutral" big business press and from its leading spokesman in the Tory government - Premier Davis, and insufferable remoteness from the sacred offices of the Canadian government whose doors are ever open for the spokesmen for Zionism in Canada.

The meeting was chaired by Khaled Mouammar, president of the Canadian Arab Federation. He began by attacking the Canadian government's hypocrisy in not accepting the PLO's legitimate place in the UN Crime Conference despite Canada's formal adherence to the tenets of the UN. He denounced the fact that Canada's policy was being shaped by the imperatives of US imperialism.

Rev. A.C. Forrest, editor of the United Church Observer, and Unitarian Rev. Duke Gray expressed their solidarity with the plight of the Palestinian refugees and condem-

ned the moral hypocrisy of the Canadian government in its complicity with "the Zionist lobby".

Speaking for the Alliance of Non-Zionist Jews, Abie Weisfeld, the Alliance's chairman, condemned the facade of anti-terrorism howled by the press and the government to cover up the real issue: recognition of Palestinian self-determination.

Bob Sherwood, the NDP candidate in Don Mills, began by disassociating himself from the rabid anti-PLO attacks made by Ont. NDP leader Stephen Lewis, whose statement does not reflect party policy (there is none) nor the views of many NDPers.

Head of the Canadian Peace Congress John Morgan asserted that the PLO was in the forefront of the movement for peace because of its "reasonable" attitude towards securing political goals its just struggle. Although claiming to support Palestinian self-determination, he urged that part of this reasonable process would be recognition of the UN resolution which sought to establish secure and safe borders for the pre-1967 territory of Israel.

Finally, a leaflet issued by the Ad Hoc Committee to Support P.L.O. Rights as Recognized by the U.N. was distributed. This leaflet condemns the Canadian government's "surrender to intimidation" from pro-Zionist groups, violation of the PLO's legitimacy in the UN, blatant disregard of the viewpoints of Arab deputations to Ottawa, and violation of the democratic right of free speech. The leaflet calls for support of the PLO's right to speak in Canada and projects having a PLO speaker address Canadians in Toronto this fall. For copies of the statement and information, write to the committee, c/o P.O. Box 416, Station "K", Toronto, Ontario.

Pro-repeal forces gaining momentum

by Alice Klein

While those who favor compulsory motherhood are cheering their staunch ally the Liberal Government, which continues to sustain the gross injustice committed against Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the outrage against Dr. Morgentaler's imprisonment has not abated.

The most dramatic expression of this outrage announced recently is the addition of over 200 Montreal doctors' signatures to a petition admitting they have performed or have been involved in the performance of abortions. There are now over 300 doctors who have made public the fact that they are guilty of the same "crime" for which Dr. Morgentaler is being persecuted.

In spite of this demonstration of substantial support from the medical community, in spite of Morgentaler's two jury acquittals, Trudeau has made it clear that the immediate and unconditional pardon which Dr. Morgentaler has requested will go unheeded. In his request for a pardon Dr. Morgentaler explained that "for all practical purposes, Canada's anachronistic and restrictive law is dead... I appeal to you," he continued, "Mr. Prime Minister, to introduce the necessary amendments to permit women access to safe legal abortions under optimum conditions, if their health so requires."

The anti-choice fanatics no doubt gaining courage from their sanction by official government circles, have not been content with making Morgentaler a sacrificial lamb at the altar of their anti-woman mania. They have now made United Way, which organizes an annual drive for charitable donations to support 81 Toronto service organizations, a willing vehicle for "right to life" blackmail.

The United Way recently pressured Planned Parenthood to withdraw its application for funding from its coffers as a result of objections by the Council of Catholic Charities to Planned Parenthood on the basis that its services included

abortion counselling and referral. Much to the surprise of United Way organizers who hoped that their action would go unnoticed by the public, exclusion of Planned Parenthood touched off strong criticism and boycott threats only a month before their drive for \$16.3 million was to begin.

In an open letter to the organizing committee of the United Way, Laura Sabia, on behalf of the Ontario Status of Women Council, called into question "the reasons and rationale behind the United Way's compliance with the reprehensible tactics of one group. Unless this decision is reviewed and Planned Parenthood of Toronto is reinstated, we will ask men and women in Toronto to withhold their support from the United Way and divert their donations to the agency of their choice."

Nor was the Ontario Status of Women Council alone in protesting this issue. Four hundred posters went up in government offices urging civil servants to consider a boycott of the United Way. Organized by People's Organization for Parenthood Education, the group explained that their campaign was aimed at making the United Way more aware of the attitude and opinions of Ontario civil servants.

The Toronto Board of Education joined the protest, putting its support of the 1975 United Way into question unless a satisfactory resolution of the incident occurred.

The organizers of the United Way, so quick to respond to the blackmail attempts of the Catholic Charities Council, was also quick to find a way to cover up the whole issue without damaging their precious public image. A compromise which promised Planned Parenthood a chance at next year's money while offering them none of this year's was accepted by all the injured parties, ostensibly in the spirit of the best interests of the United Way campaign. In reality, the resolution was obviously the

result of the clout of United Way's hold on the future purse strings of Planned Parenthood. As the scandal dies down, the flurry it raised did something to enlighten the public about the nasty politics of charity, which place the collection and disposition of funds urgently needed to provide social services in private hands.

The protest around Planned Parenthood's exclusion is only one manifestation of the growing organization of those who favor women's right to choose on the question of abortion. The Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws has experienced considerable growth.

In Toronto, CARAL organizers are planning a large rally and concert at Convocation Hall on Oct. 19 to raise money for Dr. Morgentaler's legal defense. Plans for this action follow a successful CARAL booth at the Canadian National Exhibition which collected thousands of signatures demanding amnesty for Dr. Morgentaler.



The native peoples of the four Mackenzie River clans have declared themselves a new nation, the Dene nation. In their struggle to preserve their lands from ruin by the oil companies they have threatened to blow up any oil or gas pipelines on their land.

Damien defense gains

by Tom Johnstone

The Ontario Human Rights Commission has been challenged to act in the Damien case — and public support is growing for John Damien, a judge for the Ontario Racing Commission who was fired from his \$25 thousand a year post because of his homosexuality.

When Damien was fired last February, the Ontario Human Rights Commission refused to act on his case because of a narrow and twisted definition given to the word "sex". Though the commission is empowered to act in cases involving dismissal from employment based on discrimination because of "sex", that word has been interpreted to refer only to gender, excluding sexual behavior. This definition, imposed on the commission by the current Minister of Labor, effectively excludes homosexuals from protection against discrimination because of their sexual orientation.

John Damien's lawyer, Harry Kopyto, has submitted a brief to the commission calling upon it to interpret the word "sex" so that its plain and ordinary meaning will apply and the commission could then act in his client's case. The Damien submission also calls for the appointment of a board of inquiry to investigate the facts surrounding Damien's dismissal. Editorials in two of Toronto's daily papers have backed Damien and the Canadian Civil Liberties Association called upon the government to rehire him. NDP MPP Pat Lawlor raised the matter in the

provincial legislature without receiving a satisfactory answer.

Support for Damien is crystallizing around the submission. The submission has already been endorsed by civil rights lawyers Clay Ruby, Charles Roach and by the Law Union, an organization which has about 50 lawyers in its membership. Other endorsers include members of the Conservative Party.

The Committee to Defend John Damien, initiated by 13 groups organized in the Coalition for Gay Rights in Ontario, is circulating the submission throughout Ontario.

In addition to pursuing his case through the Human Rights Commission, Damien has launched a civil suit against the individuals responsible for his firing. These individuals include John Mooney, President of the Ontario Jockey Club and Charles MacNaughton, former cabinet member of the Ontario Government who presently presides over the Ontario Racing Commission. In addition to demanding that he be rehired, Damien is claiming \$1 million in damages.

These defendants recently suffered a serious setback in the court when a Supreme Court judge overturned a decision made by a lower court striking out parts of Damien's statement of claim.

Funds are urgently needed to continue the court action. Contributions or enquiries should be addressed to the Committee to Defend John Damien, Box 117, Station "V", Toronto, Ontario.

Que. workers for autonomy

The 6,500 members of the *Ouvriers unis des textiles d'Amérique* (United Textile Workers of America - CLC) in Quebec have entered into a struggle for a militant, autonomous Québécois union in seeking to have their Quebec director François Gagné reinstated after he was fired by the international headquarters in the United States for "insubordination". A group of 50 Québécois officers of the union are appealing to the QFL (Quebec Federation of Labour, CLC) for help. Gagné, leader of the provincial council, became the centre of the longstanding dispute with the international when he refused to support its attempts to impose a settlement in a strike against Johnson & Johnson Ltd in 1974. The council, in the past merely a consultative body, seeks the power to hire and direct all Quebec union of-

ficers, to conduct contract negotiations and initiate educational programs, with a new sharing of revenue from union dues.

The Québécois membership are also demanding that the French language be used in union affairs and in negotiations. At present, contract negotiations with Dominion Textile are conducted in English because one of the union's reps, a Canadian director, does not speak French.

These demands grow out of an increasing resentment against the international, which has recently ordered strikes at Valleyfield, Trois-Rivières and St. Jean terminated on the grounds they were "illegal"; and because the union has suffered membership losses to more militant centrales such as CSN, and even CSD.

notice

SOCIALIST FORUM of Friday Oct. 18 is POSTPONED one week to OCT. 25

due to a special meeting called in defence of Dr. Henry Morgentaler

You are invited to hear activists of the Ukrainian-Canadian University
Students Union speak on

"Valentyn Moroz and the Struggle for Freedom in the Ukraine" on Oct. 25th.

SPECIAL EVENT

"Speaking on Behalf of Henry Morgentaler"

HEAR: Eleanor Pelrine
with

June Callwood and Maryon Kantaroff

AUDITORIUM
ONTARIO COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
(Bloor Street West, just west of Spadina)

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18th 8 PM

Be sure to attend this meeting in support of Dr. Morgentaler's appeal
to the Supreme Court on charges of performing an illegal abortion

and announcing

THEATRE PARTY

Saturday, Oct. 26

SEE THE PLAY "BUSINESS AS USUAL" and meet the cast after the
performance

Make your reservations now. Group rates: \$3.50 - includes Cider & Cheese Party

PHONE: 363-6755

A radical exposé of corporate lead pollution in the city.
at ST. PAUL'S UNITED CHURCH (Avenue Road south of Davenport)

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE

invites you to a

Theatre Party

to see an original stage production, a radical exposé of corporate lead pollution
in the city of Toronto

"Business
as usual"

...and after the play... A CIDER & CHEESE PARTY with the cast...

Sat. 26th at 8pm

MAKE YOUR RESERVATIONS NOW! 363-6755

only \$3.50 for the play and the party

at ST. PAUL'S UNITED CHURCH (Avenue Road south of Davenport)

PLEASE NOTE

There will be no Socialist Forum on Friday, October 25th, 1974.
The panel discussion on "Valentyn Moroz and the Struggle for Freedom in the
Ukraine" with representatives from the Ukrainian-Canadian University Students Union
has been postponed until November due to an important Ukrainian groups conference
scheduled for that weekend. The new date for the Forum will be announced.

The second class in the series on The Problems of the Vanguard Party will be
held on Friday, November 1st. For further information: 363-6755.

BC gov't imposes back to work law

By Wayne Roberts

October 8 - The BC NDP government's sweeping back-to-work legislation against four strikes involving up to 40,000 workers in the for-

By Wayne Roberts

October 8 - The BC NDP government's sweeping back-to-work legislation against four strikes involving up to 40,000 workers in the forest, food and transportation industries has taken almost everyone by complete surprise. The bill requires all affected industries to resume operations for a 90 day "cooling off" period.

The legislation has already received the condemnation of the BC Federation of Labor leadership which has called the bill pro-management and has offered vague support to all unions who repudiate the legislation. Spokesmen for the IWA, the largest of the unions involved in the crucial forest industry strike, have indicated support for the legislation. Teamster president Ed Lawson has so far only indicated that his union would obey the law. As we go to press, no word has been received from the leaders of the two pulp and paper workers' unions.

Three left-wing NDP members of the provincial legislature, Rosemary Brown, Colin Gableman and Harold Steeves took the courageous step of voting against the bill in the house without, unfortunately, stating their reasons for doing so.

There is no doubt that, in the wake of the BC Fed's position, many sectors of the sectarian left will leap on this measure as "proof" once again that the NDP is just another capitalist party merely doing a job for the bosses. (Odd that the bosses themselves never think that way, but that seems to carry no weight against the unbridled factionalism of the sectarians.)

From all the evidence available, the legislation cannot be simply characterized as pro-management. In the crucial forest industry strike, the pulp workers' unions were locked in a decisive test of strength with the employers under very unfavorable conditions. The mar-

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Morgentaler must be freed

By Ellie Kirzner

After six months in jail, two acquittals by a jury, and two heart attacks, Dr. Henry Morgentaler has on September 8th been denied parole. This latest outrage on the part of the Parole Board, motivated on the basis of the Quebec government's remaining twelve charges against him, and fed by preposterous charges of "unseemly prison behavior", expresses the painful fact that the petitions, the demonstrations, the ads in major Canadian dailies have not yet been able to stay the hand of the government's vicious persecution of Canada's greatest living humanitarian.

Despite the outrage of lawyers, doctors, editorialists and an impressive array of groups and prominent individuals, the movement for Dr. Morgentaler's release has not as yet proved capable of the power that comes with a concrete and concentrated focus. This inability thus far to shake up the government with the united strength of an enraged citizenry does not however signal an irretrievable defeat - it merely demonstrates how far the movement must go in order to make its impact felt.

It is a striking rebuke to the labor movement that this widespread sentiment has not yet been galvanized.

What clearly has not helped is the milquetoast response of the NDP, and the trade union movement, who after making the record with resolutions of support have not exerted a tenth of their enormous power to win his amnesty. Moreover, certain radicals who should know better have declared themselves "bored" and "tired" of the Morgentaler case. Lulled into quiescence by the belief that somehow the defense movement is broad enough that their own energies are not required, they have abstained. Such self-deception was expressed at the recent conference of the Toronto Law Union, where a motion to make Dr. Morgentaler the honorary president of the gathering and to make his case the centre of their activities, was defeated on the grounds that the issue was "liberal" and "cultist".

When this country's foremost prisoner of conscience does not become the *cause celebre* of all those who profess to be building a better society, on whatever level, it is clear that the majority of the

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Portugal moves to the brink

By Alice Klein

The reversal which saw Premier Goncalves driven from power proved but a brief interlude in the growing class struggle within Portugal.

It is obvious that the Portuguese revolution has far from exhausted itself, despite the inadequacy and betrayals of its leaderships. The military units who disobeyed orders to eject revolutionary groups occupying radio and television stations, the 3,500 soldiers who joined 20,000 civilians in the streets of Lisbon shouting "Portugal will not be Europe's Chile," the workers and soldiers commissions who are fighting for "popular power" in the barracks and the factories, now represent the advanced waves of the revolution.

The right-wing offensive was directed mainly at purging the radical and pro-Communist Party elements from positions held by them in the newspapers, radio stations and other media. It coincided with the swearing in of the sixth cabinet in Portugal's post-Salazar era on September 19.

On that same day, Socialist Party Leader Mario Soares stated, "We have won a battle, but certainly not the war."

The battle that Soares won was symbolized by the composition of the new seven-man cabinet: of the

Continued on page 6



The praesidium of the First National Congress of Workers' Commissions held at Covilha, Portugal over September 27-28. Representatives from 93 factory workers commissions and commissions of tenants and military units from across the country participated.

NDP upsurge in Ontario

by Bill Saunders

The stunning advance of the NDP in the September Ontario elections, with major breakthroughs in Toronto, certain other urban areas and the North is a signal victory for the labor movement. The capture of 38 seats (the largest in the party's

by Bill Saunders

The stunning advance of the NDP in the September Ontario elections, with major breakthroughs in Toronto, certain other urban areas and the North is a signal victory for the labor movement. The capture of 38 seats (the largest in the party's history) places the NDP in official opposition at a time when the Liberals are not only relegated to third place but also lacking an urban base or credible political leadership. With the NDP no longer seen as a simple goad to the old-line parties, its new position in the eye of the

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Quebec language bill.....

Morgentaler

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so-called civil libertarians and progressives are asleep on their feet. It's time they woke up! If Morgentaler's plight cannot evoke a massive and continuing defence, who's can?

In southern Ontario the latest step in this long and crucial campaign takes place on October 19 when the Canadian Association for the Repeal of the Abortion Law hosts a major rally at Convocation Hall at the University of Toronto. To be chaired by Pierre Berton, the rally will feature Florynce Kennedy,

well-known American lawyer and feminist activist; Eleanor Wright Pelrine, author of the upcoming biography of Dr. Morgentaler; and Gillian Sandeman, NDP MPP from Peterborough. String Band and other Canadian folk artists will provide the entertainment. Among the long list of endorsers are Doris Anderson, editor of Chatelaine; Harry Arthurs, the Dean of Osgoode Hall Law School; Morton Shulman; Labour Council of Metropolitan Toronto; council president Sam Fox and University of Toronto SAC.

BC's Bill 146 wrong answer

P.2
kets for lumber and newsprint pulp, the two major products of the BC industry, are extremely soft, and large inventories on hand. The IWA already had nearly half its members laid off and was being reluctantly drawn into a strike that might have forced many of its members off unemployment insurance and onto meagre strike benefits, threatening the union's financial solvency. In the

food industry, the majority of retail clerks in the supermarkets were locked out in the wake of strikes by the meat cutters and bakers.

In these cases the employers had settled in for a full test of strength under economic conditions largely favorable to themselves.

Under these circumstances, an honest look at the main provisions of Bill 146 will show that these measures are not directed primarily against the unions. In the first place all companies are directed to resume operations at the pre-strike, pre-lockout level. They are not allowed to reduce operations and all workers must be recalled. In a situation where massive layoffs are

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Continued from page 1
pending, this can hardly be of much use to management.

Secondly, all wage increases negotiated will be fully retroactive to the time the old contract expired, with interest to be paid on the workers' wages if there is any undue delay.

These actions must be seen in the context of a mounting bosses' offensive against the NDP governments, particularly in BC. The intransigence of the companies involved in these strikes, combined with the flight of capital from the housing market, the offense of the mining companies against the province's mineral royalties tax and the threats to close down the Vancouver Stock Exchange if the NDP is re-elected, were all bringing the BC economy to the brink of paralysis. These actions must be understood as a coordinated attempt to put intolerable pressure on the

people of BC and cripple the labor government.

In the face of these attacks, the government had to act. In this context, Bill 146 is directed more at the companies than the unions. But here it must be said that this method of settling the crisis sets a dangerous precedent. The capitalist governments in other parts of Canada will use the prestige and authority of the BC NDP to turn such legislation squarely against the workers.

It also in no way tackles the long-range problem of corporate economic sabotage where NDP labor governments are in office. On this basis, Brown, Gableman and Steeves were correct in voting against the bill. But now that it is in force, the NDP must develop a permanent solution to the sabotage of the employers.

That involves taking over those key industries that are crucial to the

economy and the public welfare and bringing the workers into the running of them in the public interest.

The failure of the BC Federation of Labor leaders to present any such alternative in place of their empty calls for defiance, exposes their positions as opportunist cheap shots at the expense of the political development of the labor movement. Inasmuch as they have projected NDP nominations for the forthcoming provincial elections, it is incumbent on them to put forward a rounded class-struggle solution.

The government, however, cannot rest on this dangerous legislative action only to see the bosses mount a new offensive in the future. In times of deepening crisis and sharpening class struggles, labor governments cannot long continue to follow the reformist strategy of arbitrating between the classes.

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public may well put it within shooting distance of forming Ontario's first labor government.

By sticking to working class issues and avoiding the empty "honesty and integrity" bilge of the capitalist parties, the NDP was able to give expression to the growing uneasiness of many workers about the deepening crisis of the capitalist system. As the campaign developed, the NDP was increasingly able to set the tone and framework for the election, throwing the mass media's daily predictions of voting behavior

out of joint.

There is much talk among pundits, all of whom made false predictions on the results of the election, on the "winning formula" developed by NDP party strategists. The formula boils down to: give Lewis, a warm, humane image as a cautious statesman and family man and stick to four or five basic bread and butter themes with powerful exposures of the inequities suffered by working people under this system. On the organizational side, the party strategy involved a ruthless concentration of central party resources on designated "winnable ridings", leaving all others solely to the efforts of local activists.

But the real reason for the NDP surge was the enormously widespread feeling that it was time for a

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Follow up Ont NDP upsurge

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change, a sentiment that neither capitalist party was able to channel. Voters responded to the stinging exposure of rent gougers, an issue which brought the NDP steady frontpage coverage in the last weeks of the election. They responded to the passionate presentation of the people before profits theme which the NDP had been hammering home for a prolonged period, especially over the industrial death sentences imposed on Ontario mine and factory workers. Finally the vote was pulled out by a vastly expanded body of canvassers which went far beyond the traditional party faithful and incorporated new elements won to the NDP as a party which offered real changes.

In fact it is precisely the "leadership" strategy that leaves the party vulnerable. Despite the unmitigable and imposing move toward the NDP by new sectors of the population like immigrants, the margin of NDP electoral gains is still dangerously thin. The NDP's popular vote is still lagging behind the vote of both the Liberals and the Tories (NDP 29%, Lib 34%, Tory 36%). Across the province the NDP came in second in only 23 ridings

while the Liberals came second in 51. Quite clearly the prospect of another surge forward on a purely riding by riding basis is nearly exhausted. More significantly, the strategy of concentrating on a few popular themes while ignoring broader questions of socialism, not to mention vital elements of the NDP program on education and women, leaves the party unprepared for the advances it must make. It does not permit the NDP to advance a program for or extend its relatively weak base among women and students.

Major needs emerge from the analysis of the elections. The NDP must increasingly take on the character of a movement. First there is a need for powerful and active riding associations across the province. These clubs must become highly involved in the struggles and issues that affect working people on a day by day basis. This is not a matter for lip service but a question of importance even on the electoral level. How else are the NDP activists to deepen their relations with working people as a whole and enter a more profound relation with their constituency than permitted by a door to door, two-minute canvass?

On a broader level, the whole labor movement requires some effective alternatives to the hostile, business-controlled press. The NDP is among a minority of workers' parties in the world that does not attempt to produce a mass circulation newspaper to get its point of view across to the population at large. The party is now faced with making a bid for power in Canada's industrial heartland and must go to the workers directly, beyond the party membership and put its case in its own terms on a year-round basis.

To build such a movement, the party needs a program of thorough political education and discussion at the base level. With the NDP in the legislative spotlight, many hard questions are going to be asked of NDPers. Moreover the activists who are going to be attracted to work for the NDP are going to insist on taking part in the process of political discussion and decision-making. Political discussion is an essential part of building a movement.

In the period ahead, as the NDP tests its strength in the new legislature, as working people in turn test its response in a more open way than ever before, this course becomes the only way forward for the NDP.

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Portugal moves to the brink

By Alice Klein

The reversal which saw Premier Goncalves driven from power proved but a brief interlude in the growing class struggle within Portugal.

It is obvious that the Portuguese revolution has far from exhausted itself, despite the inadequacy and betrayals of its leaderships. The military units who disobeyed orders to eject revolutionary groups occupying radio and television stations, the 3,500 soldiers who joined 20,000 civilians in the streets of Lisbon shouting "Portugal will not be Europe's Chile," the workers and soldiers commissions who are fighting for "popular power" in the barracks and the factories, now represent the advanced waves of the revolution.

The right-wing offensive was directed mainly at purging the radical and pro-Communist Party elements from positions held by them in the newspapers, radio stations and other media. It coincided with the swearing in of the sixth cabinet in Portugal's post-Salazar era on September 19.

On that same day, Socialist Party Leader, Mario Soares stated, "We have won a battle, but certainly not the war."

The battle that Soares won was symbolized by the composition of the new seven-man cabinet: of the

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Workers and soldiers councils are way out of Portuguese impasse

Continued from page 1

seven civilian seats in the new council of ministers, the Socialist party holds four, the capitalist Popular Democrats hold two and the Communist Party one. This cabinet replaces a government which leaned heavily toward Communist Party representation under the premiership of Vasco Goncalves.

Ranged behind Soares in the "battle" were the Central Intelligence Agency, which, according to the *New York Times* has been pouring several million dollars a month into the coffers of the



The praesidium of the First National Congress of Workers' Commissions held at Covilha, Portugal over September 27-28. Representatives from 93 factory workers commissions and commissions of tenants and military units from across the country participated.

Socialist Party; the forces of law and order in Portugal represented by the crusty conservative commandants of the Portuguese Army and Air Force; social-democratic party leaders throughout Europe, especially the German Social-Democratic Party; and the capitalist Popular Democrats, who have promised to distribute arms to their 50,000 supporters in order to forestall a shift to the left within the Portuguese revolution.

Ranged against Soares in the battle were the Navy and important rank and file elements in the air force and army; Portugal's industrial working class, including the steel and heavy engineering workers who went on a one-hour protest strike six days after the new government was sworn in, to persuade the new cabinet to uphold a new pay deal passed by its predecessor government; and the majority of groups to the left of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party of Portugal, which throughout the revolutionary course of events has relied on political maneuvers at the top rather than basing itself in the mobilizations of the masses, has decided to participate in the "government of national salvation" on an unofficial basis, that is, by having its representatives participate without official endorsement - a position typical of the CP's equivocal and ambivalent positions in the past.

So much for the "battle", which definitely constituted a setback for the Portuguese revolution in its concession to anti-

Communist hysteria, its shift to the right in foreign policy and the strengthening of military leaders who are undermining the autonomy of the soldier-worker commissions and democracy within the rank and file of the armed forces.

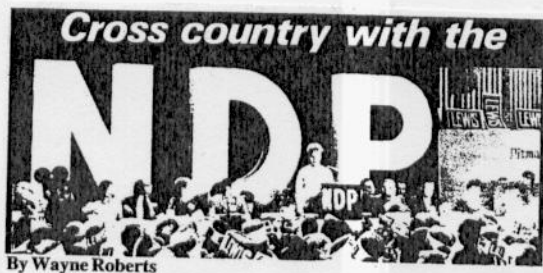
What now of the "war" that Soares speaks of, which will now be officiated by the new "moderate" Premier Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo? The shift to the right was made possible by the default of the Communist Party, which refused to consistently mobilize the Portuguese workers in independent militant actions against the old state apparatus, and the weakness of the groups to the left of the Communist Party, which lacked the forces to carry this task out alone.

The Portuguese economy continues to reel in a crisis largely manufactured by imperialism: mass flights of capital, unemployment apparently heading to 20%, reduction in tourism by 50%, and threats of intervention by European and other capitalist countries.

Under these conditions and with the counter-revolution on the offensive, the disastrous equivocation of the Communist Party and the alliance between imperialism and the Socialist Party stand exposed as never before. Only the broadest united actions of the Portuguese workers in defense of their economic and political gains can thrust the revolution back on its course, placing the real power in the workers' and soldiers' commissions.



A broad coalition which included Portuguese and Spanish militants gathered together in Toronto's City Hall Square on September 27th to hear a variety of speakers denounce the Spanish regime and demand freedom for political prisoners and to protest the "executions". Of special significance was the speech given by Jan Duzsza, NDP member of the Ontario legislature who pointed out that the victims of Franco's terror were not terrorists, called for an end to Canada's economic and political complicity with the Franco regime, and underlined the importance of demanding the withdrawal of Canadian recognition of the Spanish regime.



NDP gov'ts under attack

When Social Credit leader Bennett has the gall to lay the blame for the recent rash of death threats against BC Premier Barrett on the "atmosphere of confrontation" supposedly set up by the NDP government, we know we are dealing with more than an uncouth politician. With three more Liberal MLAs deserting their party to formally line up in a common front with the Social Credit opposition, we know that we are dealing with more than individual political opportunism. As BC heads for a provincial election, the lineup between the classes is becoming ruthlessly sharp.

On the economic front, the corporate giants continue to pin the NDP governments to the wall. The Vancouver Stock Exchange has actually threatened to close down due to the "poor investment climate" in the aftermath of the NDP's Mineral Resources Act, said to have caused a 50% drop in the price and volume of BC stocks. Landlords, demanding rent increases of 28%, are backing up their sabotage of provincially imposed rent controls by refusing to build in BC and taking their capital to Seattle.

The same story holds true for the other NDP provinces. Potash barons continue to use every stalling device in their provocative refusal to pay their taxes while they await a reversal of the Saskatchewan government laws by the Supreme Court. The profit-gorged mining interests, through an address by Alfred Powis,

president of giant Noranda and the Mining Association of Canada, have laid down their terms in his speech to various Ministers of Mines - that mineral investment will not rise unless there's a favorable investment climate such as they've enjoyed over the last 25 years.

Whatever the desires of the NDP leaderships for a mixed economy, it is clear that the only way out of this vice-grip impasse is an aggressive policy of public ownership. If the 'potash barons won't pay their taxes, they are not as they claim, "prudent taxpayers"; they are criminals. If the construction and mining overlords won't invest without gouging tenants and drinking at the public trough as corporate welfare bums, they are merely admitting their own bankruptcy. In either case, they are posing the NDP with a clear alternative - back down before the totality of the monopolists' demands or treat them like the criminals and bankrupts that they are and nationalize them. The NDP has the responsibility to take them up.



Schreyer, Blakeney, Barrett

Appeal for open debate

In his first article as Director of Education and Policy Development of the Saskatchewan NDP, Clare Powell sets himself a vigorous guideline for the months ahead. Calling for a no-holds-barred approach of stimulating and controversial political debate as the means to develop the ideas of the party, he expresses his alarm at "the steadily rising voices of pragmatism within the NDP: voices within the membership and sometimes the leadership which caution against 'going too fast'." To this he replies indignantly: "Today in Canada we are faced with runaway inflation, with record unemployment, with a massive housing shortage, with unprecedented labor unrest. To suggest we need to act more slowly is tantamount to an admission we are unable to act at all! If we believe in socialism (and we keep professing that we do) then I suggest we need more of

it, not less."

As for those who reply we must cast aside socialist "hangups" for the day to day solutions, he replies: "One might ask: just what are 'your solutions'. When we are being held up to blackmail by the potash and oil companies, when the Medicare plan for which New Democrats fought so hard is endangered by federal actions, when our rural way of life is threatened by inland terminals and the return of the open market, now is hardly the time to stick our heads in the stubblefield. On the contrary, let's apply some socialist solutions to those 'day to day issues'."

Following the recent federal convention, leader-elect Ed Broadbent called for a two year period of re-evaluating party policy. Clare Powell's powerful statement as education director of the Saskatchewan NDP is an urgent reminder that this process cannot start too soon.

Building trades autonomy

Representatives of the 15 AFL building trades unions in Canada are due to meet in Winnipeg this coming January to establish, at last, a national trades council as a tool to achieve greater autonomy from their US head offices.

The initiative for this move comes largely from the Ontario Building Trades Council. This body raised hell last year when the Washington headquarters of the building trades unions unilaterally withheld about \$750,000 in Canadian members' dues from the Canadian Labor Congress in a bid to sabotage the CLC's modest autonomy guidelines for Canadian affiliates of US-based unions.

Already a fight is shaping up between the Ont. and the US-appointed reps over the democratic right to elect members of the new council. The same "international" union reps who favored withholding the CLC's dues last year want the right to appoint members of the new council.

The building trades unions (now 400,000 strong), in conformity with

the reactionary outlook of the AFL-CIO leadership, have for decades been run under the most undemocratic procedures, have most consistently rejected independent labor political action through the NDP and have fought by fair means and foul (mostly foul) the attempts by Canadian workers' representatives to achieve greater Canadian autonomy for unions affiliated to the CLC.

Nonetheless, after three attempts by the Ontario leadership to win the idea for a national council, the proposal was finally passed - and endorsed unanimously - at a building trades department convention in San Francisco last month. Supporters of a Canadian council hope it will become the policy-making body for construction unions in this country while remaining a part of the AFL-CIO building trades department. With such a step forward for democracy through autonomy, the building trades unions can now make their way towards defining a labor strategy for Canadian workers.

Forward forums offer discussion for socialists

By Wayne Roberts

Veteran US unionist and socialist John Anderson and Ross Dowson, author of *The Power and Dilemma of the Trade Unions*, shared the platform at a forum held at 252 Bloor on October 10.

The meeting, organized to take advantage of a visit by the Detroit unionist was co-sponsored by the Independent Socialists and the Socialist League. The theme was socialists in the unions and covered diverse aspects of the aims of socialists in the trade union movement and how they work to realize them.

This special event forced the postponement of the regular Friday night *Forward* forum held at 53 Gerrard Street West. Since September 19, the night following the Ontario electoral breakthrough of the NDP, the

Forward forum has carried a series on the NDP. The September 19 forum featured a panel discussion with NDP candidates Bob Sherwood (Don Mills) and Howard Moscoe (Wilson Heights), with SL organizer Gordon Doctorow in the chair. The last of that series - The NDP leadership and the Need for and the Tasks of a Left Wing - will be shifted to October.

Forward forums cover a wide variety of themes of interest to the women's, student and working class movement, under diverse formats. The question and discussion period is open to all opinion and is one of the highlights of the forum.

Persons wishing to keep informed should write to *Forward* Forum, 53 Gerrard Street West, Toronto to get on the mailing list.

Editor: Wayne Roberts

FORWARD is published in the interests of working people by the Forward Publishing Association. Signed articles express the opinions of the writers and are not necessarily the opinions of the publishers. Mail should be addressed to Forward, Box 778, Adelaide St. P.O. Toronto.

Task for socialists

For *Forward* supporters, the recent Ontario elections were a dramatic confirmation of our view that the NDP, whatever its limitations, represents the main avenue of political development among the working people of this country. We began publishing *Forward* a little over a year ago as testimony to this conviction and to separate ourselves from the other currents of socialist thought who above all tried to differentiate themselves from the NDP, thinking it was but a minor hurdle to overcome in the task of taking the socialist message to the working class.

Because we see the NDP as the vehicle of working class political action and is presently the container of many of the essential forces that have an interest in the struggle for socialism, we have always upheld our identification with it, especially in the course of elections - a time when the working class is more politically aware than usual and a time when socialists must give direction to their class. The September 18th Ontario election vindicates our position that socialist currents which ignore or level blanket attacks on the NDP, will be ignored by the working class and will be relegated to the sidelines of its political development.

The Communist Party, running a broad campaign of 31 candidates, received a handful of votes with their program, which was presented in opposition to that of the NDP, despite the fact that it was objectively to the right of the NDP. Not only did it not call for an NDP/labor government; it did not even call for an NDP vote where it was not running. After all, the NDP is only one component of the "progressive anti-monopoly coalition" so dear to their illusions.

The Revolutionary Marxist Group distinguished itself by not even mentioning the election in the September issue of its paper, *Old Mole*. Although they had full coverage of Portugal and a lengthy and interesting review of JAWS.

The Independent Socialists (an offspring of the Ontario Waffle) were forced to offer grudging support to the NDP, although they insisted that this vote be without illusions. They did not indicate whether voters should spoil their ballot by writing "without illusions" on it.

The League for Socialist Action's paper *Labor Challenge*, which is hawked as a supporter of the NDP, has an elephant's memory when it comes to the question of the so-called corridor coalition of the federal party in the last parliament.

Eager to press their differentiation from the NDP, even in some token way, they ran against Davis and the NDP in Brampton. Although their leaflets and literature tried to pose this in a pretence of support to the NDP (Vote Simms, in Brampton! For an NDP Government!), they only succeeded in cheating themselves at solitaire. All their small forces were directed to postering Toronto(!) on behalf of Simms.

If, whatever the wishes or preferences of the left; if, whatever the limitations of the NDP, the NDP remains the arena for working class political development, then it is incumbent on the small forces of organized socialism in this country to identify with it and go through an experience with its ranks as they search for the programmatic answers to their needs. Increasingly, socialists who have left the party over the Waffle or other controversies are returning as campaign workers, realizing that the NDP is the only vehicle of mass working class politics. But it is not enough to sniff around the NDP, helping occasionally. They must become a full part of the NDP experience, rise with and learn from its ranks as they take the steps in their efforts to make the NDP an instrument of their aspirations. It is through that process that the forces which will build socialism in this country will develop.



Clive Linklater, vice-president of the National Indian Brotherhood, with Harold Cardinal (right), leader of the Alberta Indian Brotherhood. Cardinal recently called for native control of lands connected with Mackenzie pipeline.

After having declared themselves the Dene nation, the Indian and Metis peoples of the Northwest Territories, who form a majority of the population, have met with fear, hostility and obstruction on the part of the federal government and Judd Buchanan, Minister of Indian Affairs.

Major gains for Damien defence

An important gain was made in the struggle for equal rights for homosexuals when the Ontario Human Rights Commission agreed to hear the Damien submission. This submission, which argues that the Ontario Human Rights Code should be interpreted to protect homosexuals, arose out of an important legal struggle initiated by John Damien, a horse-racing judge fired by the Ontario Government for being a homosexual.

The Commission initially refused to entertain the submission but as prominent figures moved rapidly to endorse it, the Commission backed down. Among the sixty prominent lawyers, politicians, labor leaders and doctors who endorsed the submission were *Saturday Night* editor Robert Fulford and Metro Toronto Labor Council leader Sam Fox.

In order to highlight community support for the submission which is to be heard October 24th, a rally has been organized for the evening of October 23rd.

Choquette resigns amid gov't cave-in

Bill 22 fight ends in setback for French language

By John Morgan

The growing demands of Quebecois for a homeland in which the language of work and education will be their own has been dealt another setback with the failure of Bill 22 to make more than token headway in directing Quebec's immigrants into the French school system. The bill was one of Premier Bourassa's key pieces of legislation to undercut increasing support for the independentist Parti Québécois. He successfully rammed it through the National Assembly in May 1974 in the face of heightening criticism from both French language defence groups and the union movement, who saw it as insufficient and even enshrining English with more rights, and from English-language representatives who saw it as an attack on minority rights in Quebec.

The bill attempts to give French an official status, making its use as the language of communication in private enterprise a condition of government contracts and subsidies, by requiring that French be used also as the principal legal and advertising language (unless clients demand English), that it be the language of professional associations (with some delays), and recently, that it be used on all public signs and in company names (again with exceptions). In the vital area of education, the bill, like the 1969 Bill 63 before it, is the government's alternative to the "extremist" solution of unilingualism, the establishment of a single

French-language public school system.

Bill 22 explicitly recognizes the freedom of parents to choose the language of instruction in schools (a unique concession) and the "right" of the English minority to its own school system. In the context of overwhelming domination of English in North American culture and business penetrating Quebec, this system results in giving the English in Quebec a powerfully privileged position. What Quebec workers seek in asking "French only" in Quebec is equality in opportunity to find jobs and promotion with the English minority.

Bill 22, in codifying Anglophone rights from the start, then is faced with the question of how to swing the immigrants away from English, the language of advancement, to the French schools, the language of the workers and national struggle. At centre stage, the locale was the same when the language struggle broke out in 1968: the heavily Italian immigrant suburb of Montreal, St. Leonard, in schools of the Jérôme LeRoyer Commission. It was here that the commission's 11 English elementary schools were occupied and then boycotted by Italian parents, egged on by a hysterical "marathon crusade" on the English radio station CFCF, spearheaded by Liberal MP George Springate,

But the bill also served the immigrants and their Anglophone allies

with a good case: they alone had been singled out to be directed into the French school system. Their children were obliged to pass English proficiency tests to escape this fate; and all during the past summer clandestine English classes had been organized to prepare them for English schools. Then the government introduced another barrier: on the urging of the new Minister of Education Jérôme Choquette, an interpretation of the quota system froze the number of places in English schools at the 1974 level. But due to falling enrollment this year, even the new quota system allowed enough new places in English schools for immigrant children passing the tests (which in Montreal's English west end were practically no obstacle). But in growing St. Leonard, 182 immigrant children who had passed the test found they must attend French classes after all.

In the crisis which followed, Choquette spoke to 1,000 angry parents mobilized by the Italian-Canadian Education Association, who howled him down when he offered a compromise solution providing special 45-minute daily English classes starting in the first grade in French schools. The Minister, attempting to convince the Liberal cabinet that the bill was obviously "arbitrary and unjust", argued for an amendment obligating all immigrant children except those whose maternal language was English to enroll in French schools. Bourassa refused, and Choquette resigned. The "second most powerful man" in the Liberal cabinet quit the party sitting as an independent in the Assembly, an action that shook the government and earned the solicitations of the PQ, whose position he had just adopted. Jibed Creditiste Fabien Roy: "Just as Bill 63 brought about the fall of the Union Nationale, Bill 22 is torpedoing the Bourassa government."

But Bourassa refused to budge, and French language defence groups, largely under the influence of the PQ, remained passive. The drama ended in early October when acting Minister Raymond Garneau

backed down completely, allowing the 182 immigrant children into English schools. Thus another battle had been lost, under a bill which was designed ostensibly to win it, but assures only that a brewing language war continues.

However, the bill remains discriminatory as long as it is directed against immigrants only. The Quebec bourgeoisie are unequal to the task of integrating English Quebecers into French schools. Certainly the petit-bourgeois Parti Québécois is also unable and unwilling to point to any solution, with their view that the problem can only be solved after Quebec's independence is won.

If the English minority in Quebec requires English language schools to serve its special needs it should be

quite entitled to have them - at its own expense. Similar school systems are in operation amongst the Jewish and Chinese communities in some Canadian cities. But public funds should be available only for the national Quebec French school system. It now falls to the labor movement to make this simple point clear to all Quebecers in a national campaign.

Sections of Quebec's union movement have long advocated one French-only school system. In the vanguard is the Teacher's federation, whose president, Yvon Charbonneau, criticized the proposal for special English classes in elementary French schools as a "break" in the system, proposing "transitional classes" for immigrant children in which their maternal language would be used in conjunction with French to assimilate them into Quebecois culture.

Bourassa's Liberal government will now be under pressure to show that its Bill 22 has teeth and can genuinely promote the French language. An offensive by Quebec labor might now win significant gains and indicate to the provinces' English-speaking minority what they really want to know: are the Quebecois really serious about wanting a French Quebec or not? English Canadian workers are concerned about the day-to-day class solidarity with their French-speaking confrères, and will follow the lead if it's provided.



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Rosemary Brown speech on feminism and socialism

(from Forward, October 1975)

The following speech "Feminism and Socialism" was delivered by Rosemary Brown, BC NDP MLA and former candidate for the NDP federal leadership, to a meeting of the Committee on Socialist Studies during the Learned Societies convention in Edmonton in June. It has been condensed (as indicated by square brackets) or abridged (as indicated by...) for reasons of space only. The full speech is available through Betty Mardiros, 8902-120th Street, Edmonton for 50 cents. Priorities, the publication of the BC NDP Women's Committee will soon be making it available as a pamphlet. We publish this abridged version as an informational service to our readers. - Forward Editorial Note

I want to start off by quoting a statement made in 1910 by August Bebel in which he said "There can no liberation of mankind without social independence and equality of the sexes" and to say that it is those two things – the socialist commitment to those two factors, social independence and equality, that really is of relevance and are the root of the whole feminist struggle...

What is being suggested here is that the development of the women's movement... does have an objective material basis. That is not to say that political, social and even psychological considerations are unimportant. The oppression of women is so deeply rooted in history, so deeply embedded in the morality and the psychology of civilized society that it presents a degree of complexity unequaled by any other problem...

The suffrage movement might be seen as stage one in a process which coincides with the evolution of capitalism. The success of capitalism rests on the gradual rationalisation and socialization of production and a corresponding liberalization of the political structure. The progressive aspects of this development found its expression as early as 1792 in Mary Wollstonecraft's argument for women's rights which was pursued by John Stuart Mill in his *Subjection of Women*. But until World War I, universal suffrage had not been won even for males, in Great Britain, and at this time even working class women were not fully integrated into the productive process [Early women's labor was concentrated in homemaker jobs and women were excluded from many areas of the economy]. It was not until after World War II that technological development and economic growth laid the groundwork for a rapid increase in the number of women entering the mainstream of the labor force and exposed the inability of capitalism to deal with the question of distribution as opposed to the creation of wealth.

The inertia of capitalism is nowhere better displayed than in the fact that the position of working women relative to their male counterparts... is almost the same today as it was at the beginning of the industrial revolution. Women still earn on the average only half the wage of the equivalent male. Women are still employed largely in the semi-skilled trades, or clerical jobs below the managerial level.

Stage two in the process of gaining equality for women is now on the agenda. Women are determined and the objective conditions to meet their demands now exist, to achieve

equal jobs and education, to equal pay for work of equal value, and an end to discrimination in pension and other benefits. In short, for full equality with men in the workforce – and remember this is the thing we are talking about; this is not the social independence that I'm talking about here, I'm talking about economic independence.

A moment's thought makes it clear that this goal requires fundamental changes in the most basic institutions of the capitalist society – the nuclear family. And this leads to the third and final stage in the struggle for liberation, and certainly the most difficult. It was Leon Trotsky who said in 1925, that to alter the position of women at the root is possible only if all the conditions of social, family and domestic existence are altered. Only the socialization of housework can bring about what Engels called the jump from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. Such a transformation is not possible under capitalism.

To understand this last statement, it is necessary to examine the role played by the nuclear family within the capitalist system, particularly the special role assigned to women within the family...

[Galbraith] talks about the interesting convergence of politics and economics in their methods of accommodating women to social convenience, the decisive contribution of women in the developed industrial societies is rather simple, or it becomes so, once its disguising myth is dissolved – and the disguising myth he talked about is our nurturing and caring for children... [Women are played upon as consumers but this role they play in the family is not the only "natural" one.]

Among human beings there seems to have been a gradual transition from group marriage through loose peered marriage to monogamy or polygamy, and from matriarchal to patriarchal systems. This of course is a broad generalization to which many exceptions may be taken. According to Eleanor Burke Leacock in her introduction to Engels' *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*: "The significant characteristic of monogamous marriage was its transformation of the nuclear family into the basic economic unit of society, within which a woman and her children become dependent upon an individual man, arriving in conjunction with exploitative class relations. This transformation resulted in the oppression of women that has persisted to the present day. As a corollary to, or symptomatic of this transformation, the reckoning of descent was changed from mother-right to father-right." And again, I repeat Engels' saying that from the beginning it was monogamy for women only. Before the advent of private property and class divisions, that is, primitive communal society, the division of labor was reciprocal, both sexes worked in the collective household to provide the necessities, and women who performed a major share in the labor shared also in the making of collective decisions. According to Leacock, it was the undermining of the communal kinship system and the isolation of the family as an economic unit which gave rise to the subjection of women, a process which coincided with the development of private property...

It is this concept that Galbraith carries on into the 20th century where consumerism is

so important. With the development of the patriarchal family, there grew up a distinction between the public work as men's work and the private world of women's work in the household. Women were excluded not only from public labor but also, as a result, in the participation in the equally public world of political decision making... Under such a system, excluded from full participation in the work force, and the political process, women became dependent, on the support of a male for survival...

It is necessary to emphasize though that psychological and social attitudes are effects, not causes, that they arise out of an historical process, originating with the development of private property and class division...

Quoting Leacock again: "Private property for some means no property for others, and women who belong to the unpropertied class suffer from a double exploitation – the exploitation of the autocratic patriarchal family which deny them the status of person as well as exploitation in the economic sphere where they were regarded as cheap labor of peripheral importance and powerless to resist their oppression". I am sure everyone here knows the history of the cheap labor pool on which capitalists have always depended in times of war, or whatever. Under modern industrial capitalism women of all levels of the wage earning class are still saddled with the whole burden of rearing children and performing the essential tasks of individual households.

The idea of a family as an economic unit has been assimilated to the idea of the family per se. As was noted earlier the extension of formal political rights to women and the growing contradiction between the rationalization and socialization of production and the privatization of the household have led many women to recognize that a major core... of the liberation of women depends upon their being relieved of the monopoly of child-rearing and the socialization of household work in the kitchen and laundry; and here we come back to my original definition of women's oppression being economic as well as social, and that you cannot separate the two.

Certainly the kinds of things that I perceive that Socialism is committed to in terms of its economic change make it easier for us to deal with economic oppression. My experience in Sweden showed me that social oppression was another kettle of fish. We're going to have real problems dealing with that one. But such a transformation is not possible under capitalism for the work of the home, although socially necessary in that it provides for the reproduction and socialization of potential members of the work force and the needs of the adult male worker both physical and emotional, is nevertheless unproductive.

Galbraith in his book, pointed out that this was very deliberate – this business of deliberately not putting any economic value on the work done in the home because of what it would do to the system if you included the value of work done in the household in the GNP ('Gross National Product') for example, it would just blow the thing apart.

I am going to quote from Charnie Guettel again, and she says the kind of change

necessary to liberate women from the monopoly of child-rearing would necessarily be so far-reaching and unprofitable for capitalism that the workers would need the ownership of the means of production simply to make them possible. Capitalism cannot support both multi-billion dollar war and multi-billion dollar day care, equal education, industrialization of domestic labor, socialized recreation, and all those institutions that would make the mother and wife-centred family a relic.

Thus the continued subjugation of women and the mystification surrounding the concept of wife, mother and family are essential to capitalism. The whole media image, built around the whole nurturing thing, is so important that if we strip it and get right to what is really going on, and certainly this is involved in the women's movement – getting other women to see that the mystification thing, even tying it in with Christianity and other things, is something that the capitalist system has gone to so much trouble to do. It is such a difficult thing to cut through and get really to the core of what is really underneath it.

The economic liberation of women as well as, to some extent, their social liberation, can only occur under socialism, and I get back to the original statement I made about the commitment to socialism to social independence and equality. The strategy for feminists, and for the men who support them in capitalist and social democratic countries, must take into account the primary importance of demands for such things as free child care facilities, and the need to forge a link between working class and middle class women in the struggle for equal pay, equal access to jobs, as well as the need to organize the unorganized and recognizing the role of woman as consumer in society. These are crucial areas that we have to take into account. Success in these areas will have the double effect of fully reintegrating women in the work force while hastening the process of de-mystification.

At the same time, women must continue to press for things like the repeal of the abortion law, an end to the whole sexist advertising, stereotyping in the school system, because we see that this is part of the mystification process and part of the job that we must address ourselves to in terms of what it is doing to us, as well as for equal opportunity. For every reform should contribute to changes in the attitude in society, keeping in mind that it is the monogamous family as an economic unit at the heart of class society which is basic to the subjection of women.

Again, if I can refer very quickly to my experience in Sweden, and I spent six weeks there looking specifically at the status of women in Sweden... and found that all possible legislation has been introduced. The last thing that they were dealing with when I was there was abortion. Since then the legislation dealing with abortion has been introduced. The whole business of equality before the law is there. Certainly in the school system it is there, in the work place it is there. But the social inequalities still exist and when I spoke to women I found that this existed within the nuclear family.

Single women – as far as they were concerned – they were completely free, completely

liberated, and could move up through their work system or whatever. There were barriers certainly in terms of individuals with whom they had to deal. But the women in the home, still felt – well sure they could go out and work and sure the men helped, but deep down, while no one talked about it, the responsibility for managing the home was still theirs. The attitude of "I'll take the kids while you clean the house" or "I'll do this for you". The "you" thing kept creeping in, even with the most liberated people. Maybe it is part of that old race memory that's been laid down. I don't know, but certainly legislation alone, though it removes the barriers, we still have to come to grips with what we're going to do about social oppression. It just doesn't handle it.

In conclusion I just want to say that if we accept socialism as a philosophy which is committed to the removal of all barriers that make one human being dependent on another, and further, if we accept that the oppression of women is based on social dependence as well as on economic dependence, on social exploitation as well as on economic exploitation, then we see that socialism, although quite capable of dealing with economic dependence, has so far not really been completely successful in dealing with social dependence.

There could be a number of reasons for this. For one, economic change is more tangible and more possible; social changes are slower. Part of it has to do with the conditioning of both males and females, and perhaps it will take a generation or two to deal with.... But the possibility exists under socialism – this possibility does NOT exist under capitalism because of capitalism's dependence on the exploitation of its labor force, because of its dependence on its economic growth, which, as Kenneth Galbraith points out, requires increased consumption, certainly where your population is stable, the per-capita increased consumption of the people who exist.

The function of woman as consumer, as cheap labor, and as unpaid home manager, under capitalism ensures her continued oppression. Socialism, with its commitment to social independence and equality of sexes, addresses itself to these oppressions, and despite the criticism of some of the writers of the movement, the feminist struggle is more basic and more important than the class struggle to which socialists are committed, it is becoming increasingly evident that socialism, feminism and racism, because they share a common enemy, would be short sighted indeed not to pool their resources and experiences in a common struggle, and that when the collective goal is achieved what we will have is a more ideological socialist society certainly than presently exists anywhere in the world.

Is open door the answer?

A labor policy on immigration

By Gord Doctorow

In the July 4 issue of *The Manitoba New Democrat*, an article by Joe Killoran attempts to put the case for labor to advocate an "open door immigration policy." One can say "attempts" because the arguments put forward are in reality arguments for socialism, and have little to do with an open door immigration policy under capitalism. That this is so is shown by the last sentence in the article: "Canada can and should develop an open door immigration policy, and a socialist economy in which immigrants can participate fully."

Of course, it follows that under conditions of a socialist economy the political structure would reflect the fact that the economy and state are in the hands of the working class. That is, immigration would be a part of socialist planning. But one cannot confuse policy under socialism with a policy that would serve the immediate interests of the working class under capitalism. As Killoran himself points out, by his examples, immigration policy is a function of the interests of the capitalist class in its efforts to most efficiently and effectively exploit wage labor.

Killoran correctly points out that immigrants are not responsible for unemployment but that unemployment serves the interests of capitalism by acting as a pressure against the working class's struggle for better wages and working conditions. Then he points out that closing the door won't give full employment, only the eradication of capitalism will. Although there is no disagreement on these points, one can add that an open door immigration policy doesn't solve the problem of unemployment either and that so long as we have capitalism immigration will be used as an instrument of capitalist planning.

An article in the June 1975 issue of *Forward* (Vol. 1, No. 9 - "An immigration policy for labor") points out that the Liberal government has opened its doors wide to bring in temporary permit labor, forced to accept jobs considered too low paying or too dangerous by the standards of

Canadian workers. This leaves the bosses free to maintain rotten working conditions because of the helpless situation of immigrant workers.

Although a restrictive policy doesn't cure unemployment, neither does an open door. For example, a large egg producer in Moorpark, California was able to take advantage of the influx of jobless, homeless Vietnamese refugees by using them as cheap scab labor to break a strike of Teamster farm workers in Egg City. Furthermore, these Vietnamese scabs are forced to put up with the most humiliating working conditions in order to retain the only jobs available to them. In this way, big business uses a version of open door to get cheap labor and divide the working class.

A similar situation exists in Canada in the use of temporary work permit labor. The organized labor movement can never accept an abstract ideal for a policy in favor of the need to provide an immediate and concrete defence of interests so flagrantly under attack.

What is needed is a working class policy. Socialists are not called upon to propose either an open door or restrictions. Under capitalism, we must advocate a policy which promotes class unity and which defends the workers' safety, health, and wages.

Under capitalism, neither open door nor restrictions offer advantages for the working classes of either the originating countries or of Canada. Only international socialism will provide the future material basis for a truly open door policy which will benefit the working classes.

The next argument Killoran uses to justify open door in today's Canada is to point out that immigrants are not responsible for the housing crisis, that this is a product of capitalist governments' failure to provide large-scale, quality housing. All very true, but an open immigration policy has nothing to do with solving this problem. All that can be said is that the housing shortage should not be blamed on immigrants. Massive public housing is required to solve this problem.

Dealing with the question of racism, Killoran correctly observes that it is rooted in the nature of Canadian society. He attacks the racism of the Green Paper and points out how racism is used as a pressure against left militants like Rosie Douglas or against the Haitian refugees in Quebec.

Of course, socialists should demand, in the trade unions and in the NDP, the major political expression of labor in Canada, that labor actively fight these deportations and to open up Canada as a refuge for victims of repressive regimes. This is labor's battle to protect its own and has nothing in common with opening the door to everyone, such as social scum like General Quang, the Vietnamese drug pusher and imperialist agent.

The major point to bear in mind is that socialists are not reduced to choosing between an open door policy and a closed door policy for the labor movement to solve the problem of capitalist exploitation. Socialism is the general answer to the general problem.

But in the immediate period, socialists should fight for an active class struggle policy in the unions and the NDP to defend the interests of workers:

— The labor movement is duty bound to defend its own. The labor movement must defend the victims of repressive right wing regimes and especially its leading militants by calling for the unconditional right of asylum for all political refugees. It must put a halt to the harassments by RCMP-CIA officials against refugees like the Chileans, US draft resisters, etc.

— Temporary permit labor must be abolished. And workers who are in this country must have full citizenship rights and protection under the labor laws.

— In defence of its working conditions the labor movement must unite to fight for the upgrading of all jobs, agricultural or industrial, domestic or public, so that immigrant workers can not be forced into becoming an instrument against Canadian workers and so that they

can obtain the same standard of living as Canadian workers.

By mobilizing to fight around such demands the workers' movement will focus its anger and frustration on the big business governments and the bosses instead of on the immigrant-worker victims. This can lead to a deepening of the workers' understanding of the class nature of capitalism and will help to forge real class struggle links of internationalism with workers of other countries.

Stop Douglas deportation

Rosie Douglas, a black activist branded as a national security risk by the attorney-general, faces an ominous deportation to Dominica on December 15. Douglas, who served a two year jail sentence for his role in the Sir George Williams sit-in in 1969, has exhausted almost all the appeals that could delay that action.

His impending deportation by the government is a clear case of discrimination. Although temporary damage was done to the George Williams computers as a result of the invasion of 400 armed riot police, Douglas was never charged or convicted for more than taking part in an illegal sit-in. Of the 97 who participated in the sit-in, he is almost the only one isolated for such harsh treatment.

Since that time, as a result of protests of black community leaders, civil libertarians and NDPers, the government has been forced to withdraw many of the insinuations and charges levied against him, but they have held firm to his deportation. Especially considering the fact that Douglas faces certain danger and even death in his native Dominica from a government which is viciously repressive to all dissenters, it is essential that support be rallied for him immediately. A conference has been planned to deal with this in late November. Contact the Rosie Douglas Defence Ctee, P.O. Box 194, Station P, Toronto, for further information.

Class I: An Historical Survey of the Woman's Movement (from its origins to its present form)

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 12 8:00pm

A comparison of the feminist radicalization during the turn of the century with the present wave. Are they the same movement? Has the direction of the radicalization changed?

Speaker: Ellie Kirzner; MacMaster University graduate student presently working on research concerning the history of the woman's movement in Canada.

Class II: An Assessment of the Current Wave of Radicalization of Women

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 19 8:00pm

An open discussion on the prospects before the present wave of the women's movement.

Speaker: Chris Judge; a leading activist
in the woman's movement.



Forward Forum

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Reading material for each of the classes is available in the Forward Books shop at 53 Gerrard St. W. during the hours of 11:00 to 5:15 each day except Sunday and from 7:15 to 10:30 pm each Friday evening or at the Forward booktable at York University, Thursday from 11:00 to 2:00 and other days.

To be notified of the particular forums each Friday, a forum mailing service is available free by calling 595-1284 or leaving your address with a forum organizer in your area.

DRAFT OF ORGANIZER'S REPORT

(Socialist League, Toronto):

by G. Deutsch (*G.D.*) Nov.23/75

In this report I am going to try to make clear what we are doing and where we are going. Once we answer these questions we can logically move to making the appropriate organizational decisions to take us where we want to go as the Socialist League. Last year, our movement consisted of about 20 people. Our HQ was on the third floor of an out-of-the-way building on King Street. We had no full time staff, although we had comrades who volunteered a considerable amount of their time to make up for this and we even managed to come up with a part-time staff organizer, Dale. Our operation was modest and with a couple of pamphlets, our press, and monthly pledge level that had jumped from the \$360 a month we started with to about \$800 a month, we maintained a holding operation.

Since that time, the Socialist League has made steady, if modest, progress. To begin with, we survived. While the rest of the Trotskyist currents retained considerably larger numbers than us or were undergoing expansion due to the splits and realignments on the left (e.g. Sparts *{ultraleft Spartacist League—ed.}*, IS), we managed to recruit six new people to the Socialist League. However, another important development should be noted to get the whole picture. We also managed to consolidate our movement.

Our part-time organizer Dale went on to become the president of one of the most important students councils among the Ontario campuses. That was the product of a tough and relentless struggle with a vicious right-wing opposition. This led to establishing our hegemony at York, to building up a wider base among radical students, to getting other comrades on students council, including a full-time staff, Alice. This in turn led to our entry into the Ontario student movement and the building up of our connections in the NDP through our giving leadership in the student movement.

Since Dale's term as staff organizer, we have managed to bring on two full-time staff, although only one is on salary. Our HQ is now located in a more strategic place in relation to public access. We now have a bookstore, which has a very fine selection of material. We have our own forum hall and we are connected with a print shop operation. Our finances from dues and pledges exceed \$900 a month. We have just put out our sixth pamphlet and two more are on the way. *Forward* is self-financed. Our membership is now about 33 with our core being complemented by close sympathizers in Vancouver, for a while in Alberta, as well as in Toronto. In short, we managed, on slim resources, but through know-how and boldness, to telescope our organizational development to catapult us to having a centre which in reality outstrips the rest of the revolutionary left whose resources are much better than ours.

Even in terms of some of the external milieus, aside from our campus work at York, we have been able to establish our leadership and good will through our work in CARAL, in the May 10th Women's march, our work at Cole's Steel where we have two comrades in key union positions and in the NDP through our press and pamphlets.

Other changes have taken place as well. There have been many problems in solving the operational aspects of the movement, in developing a team, and so on. These need to be dealt with in a serious way. The first step will be to establish a new leadership team which will incorporate the new dynamic elements in our movement. I will deal more with that later. But isn't it notable that along with the tremendous challenges and earlier hesitations and uncertainty about

our future we now have new material to work with and shape in our movement? We are all aware of membership attrition problems in the last while, but we should now recognize that we have rejuvenated and renewed our membership as well.

The average age of membership is lowering. Ten of our comrades are students, and 20 earn incomes (twelve of which are unionists.) Only nine of 33 comrades are women – just under one third. But still we have a core of youth activists whose energy is essential for the continuation of the movement and we also have a good base of working comrades to keep us afloat financially as well as being in contact with the working class in their daily lives. That does not suggest that we are in a unique strategic position from the point of view of organizational growth, but it does suggest that we have accomplished something worthwhile in the last period and that we have good potential for the future.

So, on the organizational side, let the record show that the Socialist League, in its first year and one half of existence was able to hold on and consolidate against the stream of radicalization in the Trotskyist currents.

Ironically, while we regard ourselves as Trotskyists, increasingly, as time goes on, we find ourselves operating more and more independently of the other currents calling themselves Trotskyist. We can think of three key issues where this tendency has mostly sharply been revealed: the NDP, Canadian nationalism, and the Portuguese revolution.

Despite the fact that there has been next to nothing in the way of mass radical actions outside the NDP, the IS, LSA, Sparts, and RMG have continued to maintain their sectarian hostility to the NDP. In the case of the LSA, their abstention has been compounded with a felony — for revolutionaries — namely their dishonest attempt to portray their candidate in the provincial elections as the NDP candidate. From the actions of these groups has come a certain suspicion and distrust in the NDP to Trotskyism. And, ironically this is occurring at a time when more and more radicals are emerging from within the NDP (which undoubtedly has prompted the LSA to move out of the barren wasteland of “mass” demonstrations which have no masses for a somewhat dubious critical support for the NDP around election time). At a time when we find a prominent NDPer like Duckstra participating as the official NDP representative in a united front in defense of the Spanish political prisoners and when other prominent NDPers have identified publicly with the Portuguese revolution. Instead of orienting to the NDP in a strategic way, these sectarians wage endless raids on each other and by way of common action present a common antipathy for the Socialist League's "opportunist" liquidation into the NDP.

On the issue of Canadian nationalism, we have again suffered the consequences of the LSA/RMG's hostility to a radical and central feature of the Canadian class struggle. The Waffle came to consider Trotskyism as hostile to their goals and understanding. Thus we were not able to recruit out of the Waffle, or to head off the formation of the IS (*International Socialists – “state caps” tendency –ed.*) in favor of our correct and principled approach to this and other questions. This lost opportunity and the subsequent dissipation of the nationalist stance of the IS because of their lack of a firm grounding in our theory have cost us in terms of gaining a whole new layer of recruits. And while all sorts of nationalists who consider themselves to be Marxists exist outside of our movement, we have not succeeded in gaining access to them despite our

pamphlets, our articles and appeal to them in our press. Such is the legacy we Trotskyists have been saddled with from the sectarians who think themselves Trotskyist.

Although we left the Fourth International in a formal sense, for a long time our sympathies lay with the SWP (*Socialist Workers Party-USA section in solidarity with the FI—ed.*) despite their position of support for the LSA leadership on the issues of the NDP and Canadian nationalism. But even this tenuous identification with the F.I. has been obliterated with the dispute on Portugal. Because we find ourselves identifying with the position of the Mandel faction who have taken a principled and essentially correct stance on this question which involves taking a side in the class struggle in the course of an imminent revolution. We find ourselves on the opposite side of the class line to that of the SWP on a matter too important to be sloughed over in the interest of comradely relations or future hopes of reunion. Of course, the ultralefts are perplexed by the “right opportunism” of the SL in Canada while this same elusive SL maintains a revolutionary stance on Portugal. But that is their problem to work out and concerns us little here. What is important to note is that when we stated in our founding document "The Socialist League and the Struggle for a Socialist Canada" that we were for "a Fourth International" thereby putting a question mark to "the Fourth International", we had not yet anticipated such a complete rupture with what until recently we had considered the core of world Trotskyism.

In that founding document, we talked about the possibility of regroupment of Trotskyist forces after a testing period. But that prospect of regroupment has never been more remote. There is a continual fracturing and re-sorting of the left even as the radicalization deepens and broadens. The other tendencies have experienced rapid growth through the reshuffling process. Our growth has been more modest, centered almost exclusively in Toronto. While we have experienced steady growth through our campus and trade union work, it doesn't compare to the other tendencies.

But this is not necessarily a sign that we are doing something wrong politically. It merely reaffirms the problems we have been saddled with in our Canadian nationalist and NDP orientation; that is, the label of sectarianism associated (with) Trotskyism and the slow and uneven resurgence of the left in the NDP. We do not even operate in the same milieu as the other tendencies, who are chasing after rank-and-file committees in the unions, fighting mythical bureaucrats like activist shop stewards, or chasing after mass demonstrations on racism, Portugal, Spain, Chile, Vietnam, women's liberation, anything. We are all too familiar with the endless bickering and useless dissipation of energy. While we try to focus the issues of women's liberation, abortion, Spain, etc. into the NDP and the labor movement, the ultralefts try to focus in on the issues per se – the NDP being an added touch* (*marked “NB” by author).

However, we know that the radicalization is moving more and more clearly, more and more to the surface in the NDP. Rosemary Brown's campaign affirmed the harbingers in the form of the left manifestos of the Ontario and BC conventions. Left candidates were elected in Ontario and the NDP is now the official opposition. The city reform activists, the Jim Laxers, all sorts of radicals found their way into the campaign rooms of the NDP that brought about this brilliant but limited result – the NDP as the Official Opposition in Ontario. The challenge of the ONDP to

devise a strategy to build an activist base in the working class and the growing pressure and demands of the new layer of radicals within bode well for a future revival of a left caucus.

It is there we are going — armed with our transitional program and our appreciation of Canadian nationalism. And it is there that we will not find the other currents except for the marginal Lambertist operation. So, to talk about regroupment is to ignore the real and growing divergence between ourselves and the other currents. We are out to create a Trotskyist vanguard anew through fusing with the left wing that will come out of the NDP, through our campus work, and through our transitional approach to other areas like CARAL and union work.

This is not to declare war against the Trotskyist currents and say that we will never work with them, but it is to recognize that our strategy makes such occasions rarer and rarer. If we consider cosponsoring an action of the left, our first concern will be to ask how this ties in with our NDP work, how this affects our relations with the vital forces in the NDP, not whether the ultralefts will label us as sellouts or opportunists or do-nothings. Once we realize that what we are doing and where we are going is far removed from those other paths, we cast our image and work in an entirely new framework. For instance, we don't automatically endorse a Tariq Ali tour, but we go out of our way to bring NDP spokespersons to speak at our forums.

At this point, some shrewd observer MIGHT point out that the SL has not really been able to implement its orientation to the NDP and Canadian nationalism. No use in denying the truth. To a large degree, our NDP orientation has been more propagandistic than actual due to the weakness of the left in the party after the Waffle exodus, and the revival process is very recent. Now we are in a position to begin to make new connections in the NDP among new activists by participating in riding meetings. However, this merely confirms the correctness of our orientation as expressed in our press in a propagandistic way.

Our press has laid the groundwork for the possibilities ahead. We have moved into the NDP and nationalistic circles across the country to one degree or another as an organization via *Forward*. The paper has allowed us to articulate and refine our ideas and thereby to develop our cadre as well as ferreting out a widening audience. Our contacts in Vancouver or Alberta or other places know us because they know our paper. They respect us because of the line and style of the paper. Occasionally they look to the paper and us to guide them in their political work (as one of our subscribers did when he consulted with me at the Forward Book table at the federal NDP convention).

Yet, we have a problem with the distribution and circulation of *Forward* which is the heart of our political work. We failed to make even half our sub drive quota in the last drive. Our circulation on campus has been sporadic at best and we do not have a developed sense of subscription-getting consciousness.

What this shows us is that although we know what we are politically and where we are going politically, we have not yet learned to focus our political priorities organizationally.

(handwritten concluding comments follow -ed.) We have carried a regular forum program with

good presentations, but we have failed to build them. Our work is not concerted. External pressures act as a centrifugal force on our movement. Need to consolidate them (as a team).

Toronto centre (needs) to be built up in preparation for pan-Canadian centre. Work must be oriented to cadre building. Challenge is building the organization. Therefore, new comrades must be involved in leadership, become acquainted with problems & become tested by experience.

(end)

For a congress of all Cdn labor to fight Trudeau's wage freeze

By the Editors

With the militancy demonstrated by the delegates to the national convention of the 210,000 member Canadian Union of Public Employees the confusion and hesitancy across the ranks of organized labor as what can be done about Ottawa's so-called anti-inflation program has begun to fade.

Retiring president Stan Little's charge that Ottawa's program is a War Measures Act against the union movement in a phoney war on inflation, and his urging that the 1,200 CUPE locals oppose the mandatory restriction in every way possible, won tumultuous applause. But the delegates also demonstrated in no uncertain way that they wanted action by turning the leadership's resolution back not once but twice to be beefed up, and by taking action, mass action then and now. Over 2,000 strong, joined by posties and railway workers, they took over the streets in front of the Royal York Hotel in downtown Toronto to demonstrate against Trudeau, addressing the Rotary Club on his government's proposed legislation.

Since then the top brass of the Canadian labour movement has moved from tokenist protest to militant denunciation of Trudeau's psychological warfare against labor in its attempts to catch up and keep up with inflation.

The executive of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor confronted Trudeau in Regina with the charge that the program was designed "to use workers as cannon fodder" to fight inflation that they had not caused, and a challenge that the controls should be withdrawn.

Saskatchewan labor was not "prepared to negotiate changes in this plan...and Saskatchewan

workers do not intend to cooperate with it." Executive spokesmen announced plans to convene an emergency provincial convention of their members to plan a strategy for fighting the controls.

Following a closed meeting, the CLC executive council, composed of the leadership of the country's 30 biggest locals and representing 2.6 million unionists, issued a statement demanding that Bill C73 which will make the controls law, be immediately withdrawn. They condemned the proposed legislation as being not only "highly inequitable", directed as it is against the victims of inflation, but also completely unworkable. In its place they outlined a 10 point program against inflation. Through President Joe Morris they called on all union locals to bargain as if the control program does not exist.

Some of the leaders began to talk more militantly. Although Morris felt it necessary to say that the executive was not thinking of general strike and that he "would not counsel anyone to civil disobedience," Don Montgomery said that the battle will be a long term affair — "almost guerrilla warfare." They decided to strike off a special committee to mount a nation-wide campaign and a special fund to help unions fight the wage ceilings and retain legal advisors as to the possibility of challenging the legislation in the courts. Morris dissociated the CLC from a former CLC vice-president who the government has managed to wheedle into sitting on its anti-inflation board.

This meeting was followed one week later by a meeting of the leadership of all congress affiliates. It adopted the project contributions from the membership. It also saw the leadership shift to a more radical stance. Morris

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

13
Vol. 2, No. 1 November 1975 Toronto 20 cents

Program for labor

A fighting program against Trudeau's freeze of our efforts to defend our living standards from continuous inflation — Ottawa's wage freeze.

For an emergency delegated congress of all unions of the Canadian Labor Congress, the Quebec Confederation of National Trade Unions, the provincial teachers organizations — of all labor — to map out and organize their massive numbers behind a fighting strategy to defeat Ottawa's wage freeze.

For a common front behind the embattled forces of the Postal workers, Ontario's teachers and Quebec's nurses, now on the firing line. Their defeat would signify a blow at the coming struggles of the railway workers, the autoworkers, the civil servants, and others.

For immediate action to form consumers, farmers and union committees on prices. From a massive exposure of unconscionable price hoists before the so-called anti-inflation review board and the public, to the structuring of committees on prices that will rip the cover-up of the corporate giants' machinations of exploitation, robbery and fraud. For an end of the Big Business conspiracy against the rest of the community. Abolition of all business secrets. Toward popular control of the productive plant of the country.

now said that he was not far from ruling out any kind of action and that "this is one goddam law I'm prepared to disobey no matter what the cost." McDermott of the UAW talked in terms of confrontation. Some 1,300 union delegates

representing 800,000 workers at the Ontario Federation of Labor congress in Kitchener heard president David Archer, not noted for such comments, declare that he is prepared to go to jail to block the government's program and that they must also be prepared to take the consequences of this action even if it "meant going to prison". If defiance of the program meant going to jail, and Trudeau's October 1970 War Measures Act shows that he is no doubt prepared to honor a recent statement that he would jail a few labor leaders, said Archer, "a trade union leader worth his salt...should do so."

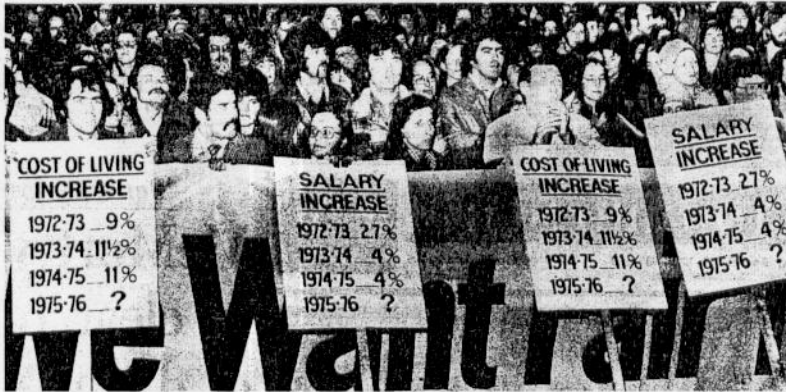
Shirley Carr told the Kitchener press that the CLC will soon stage mass demonstrations both at Ottawa and at Queen's Park, demanding the immediate withdrawal of the legislation. She reported that large sums of money are coming from across the country to bolster the Congress' war chest and expressed the conviction that Trudeau's wage freeze legislation has "succeeded in uniting all the labor movements much more quickly than I would have thought possible."

There is no question that the working people of Canada want action against inflation. In all the metropolitan centers they are being confronted with massive increases by the landlords. These

increases are being pyramided on top of last year's rents which for Toronto apartments, according to a CMHC investigation, went up on the average of 13 per cent.

Food is not covered by the regulations either, will increase on an average of 9.06% in the coming year according to a survey by 13 Montreal economists. This alone is more than one percentage point above the goal of the government's program.

The trade union movement is the only force that can provide an organizing center and the bulk of the clout to effectively fight the government's wage freeze. But it is necessary to move from words to deeds. The projected mass demonstrations are a step forward, but only a step. Talk of union locals and even entire unions bargaining as usual, on their own, is just that. Only concerted, only united action will work. What is needed is a strategy in defence of those now on the battle line. Effective solidarity certainly requires the very serious consideration of organized one-day sympathy strikes on their behalf. The united congress of all labor is required to establish just where we are at — what actions are necessary and what actions we are prepared to take. For Ottawa's wage freeze can only be defeated by the conscious united action of a roused people. Organized labor can lead the way.



Two thousand separate school teachers protest the Ontario government's wavering on the wage increase they won, using the pretext of federal wage controls.

Food price hikes exposed

A monitoring organization set up by Shirley Varga of Sudbury has exposed hoists in food prices of as much as 50% in that area since Big Business' government in Ottawa put its anti-inflationary program into effect. Calls from indignant shoppers have been coming into the fledgeling organization on an average of 30 a day and are increasing as the community hears about the project. Shirley Varga is associated with the journal True North.

All the giant food merchandisers are in on the gouging. Loblaw's Elm Street store raised one pound packages of Maple Leaf Sizzlers from 1.18 to 1.48. Dominion's Falconbridge operation raised cans of Smith's vegetable cocktail from 48 cents to 61 cents. Red and White in Azilda marked up a 10 oz. jar of Nescafe coffee from 2.53 to 3.55 and at A & P's Pine Street store the price of Maxwell House coffee zoomed from 1.70 to 2.28. A few days after the

government announced its freeze on wages, Loblaw's closed one of their outlets in downtown Toronto for renovation. The store reopened two weeks later under the name of Ziggys, a specialty chain that Loblaw's owns. According to shoppers in the newly named store, prices were approximately 20% higher right across the board. Under its regulations the government board can conduct an enquiry but there is no legislation to enforce price rollbacks.

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The real situation behind BC's Bill 146

by Bill Saunders

BC Premier Dave Barrett, having called Trudeau's bluff on the wage and price guidelines with a price freeze, has now taken the issue to a provincial election, set for December 11.

This election follows hard upon the heels of the NDP government's controversial Collective Bargaining Continuation Act (bill 146). This bill, imposed on October 7th, ended shutdowns and ordered a resumption of operations in four key provincial industries affecting some 50,000 workers. In its wake a torrent of criticism has come from major officials of the labour movement and many NDP activists. Howls of "strike breaking" and "pro-management" have been heard from these quarters. But what was the situation that confronted BC workers and the NDP? All the evidence available now shows they were facing a massive lockout with a minority of the workers trapped in ill-advised strikes.

In the Lower Mainland food industry dispute, the vast majority of the workers, some 3,000 Retail Clerks and bakers, were formally locked out when they refused to give guarantees to cross the picket lines of the striking meatcutters. Reports in the business press indicate that at least some of the propane gas drivers in Nanaimo were also locked out.

In the key forest industry dispute, the situation was more confused but essentially similar. Early in July the companies unilaterally cancelled the existing contract, which had been extended on a day-to-day basis since the end of June, with the IWA.

Around the same time, Weyerhaeuser Co. shut down its pulp mill at Kamloops on the basis that high employee absenteeism on Fridays and Saturdays (such as absenteeism is common throughout basic industry and manufacturing) constituted a strike.

By the middle of July some of the 35,000 IWA members in the forest industry were off the job on local walkouts, unsanctioned by the union leadership, because of similar company provocations. In addition, half of the IWA members were laid off due to extremely soft lumber markets. Similar layoffs were looming (and still are) in the pulp industry because of a drop in demand.

BC Federation of Labour president George Johnston summed up the overall situation when he spoke to the press on July 17. He charged that the major provincial employers had decided that this is the year to take on the trade union movement. He said this they were taking their lead from the Employers' Council of BC, an organization of the 60 largest employers in the province, and that they were inviting confrontation and were prepared to withstand strikes to crimp the growth and power of the unions.

About this time (July 11), Labor Minister William King asked the two sides in the forest industry to hold off on strike action until a special investigator could carry out a 21-day investigation into the dispute and make contract recommendations. Normally such a tactic could be written off as a stall for the companies. But under these rotten economic conditions, when the companies were offering virtually nothing in the new contract, and especially when the offer was coming from a labor party government, it was extremely ill-advised to reject the offer out of hand, break the front with the IWA and pull all 12,000 members out on an immediate strike as the pulp union leaders did.

To be sure, the report that was handed down by Justice Hutchison in September was inadequate to meet the workers' needs (\$1.55 per hour over 2 years and a COLA provision that would not click in until the second year and then only if the Consumer Price Index rose by more than 12%). The IWA was deeply divided over it, with the interior section of the union voting for it and the coast section against, and 51% overall against (even the

top leadership only recommended it on the basis of a tie-breaking vote by Jack Munroe. But a prolonged strike with doubtful prospects of improving the offer was not much of an alternative. In any case, it would be suicidal for leaders to take a union so deeply divided into such a difficult strike.

At the peak of the forest battle, still only a minority of workers were actually on strike. The bulk of the IWA members were either on layoff or refusing to cross the pulp workers' picket lines.

In the aftermath of the legislation, the BC Federation of Labor leaders, along with the leaders in the two pulp workers' unions, the bakers and a number of other affected unions, characterized the bill as "strike-breaking" — "anti-labor" and "pro-management" and urged unionists to defy the bill.

They were echoed by the Vancouver Area Council of the NDP which issued a statement on October 10 stating that the council "condemns every NDP MLA who voted for Bill 146."

Notwithstanding this avalanche of criticism, and in line with an article by Wayne Roberts in the previous issue of **Forward** (Vol. 1, no. 12), this bill cannot be characterized as pro-management, or as anti-labor. Nor even as strike-breaking, except in form. Clearly the situation confronting BC workers was essentially that of a lockout.

At the same time, it must be said clearly the method of settling the disputes embodied in Bill 146 was wrong in principle, on two counts. This was why the previously mentioned article in **Forward** commended the three MLAs (Rosemary Brown, Colin Gableman, Harold Steeves) for voting against the bill, although there was no statement of their reasons available at the time the article was written.

If this sounds ambiguous it's simply because that's the nature of the situation. Serious socialists and workers' leaders must try to avoid rhetoric and knee-jerk reactions and to honestly evaluate the problems and the principles that are at stake here.

First, let it be said that total opposition to government interference in labour disputes is clearly not a principle. The union movement correctly demanded that the Quebec provincial government impose a contract on the United Aircraft Corp. at

Longueuil during the recent 22-month strike by UAW members for union recognition, as it became clear that the company was out to break the union completely. A similar situation developed during the Artistic Woodwork strike in Toronto.

The unions correctly saw that they were in a losing battle on the economic front and attempted to exploit the wide-spread illusion that the government represents "all the people".

What was wrong in the bill was that the government used its position as the administrator of a part of the capitalist state to intervene unilaterally in the strike/lockout situation, thereby enhancing, in the long run, the power of a state that is essentially in the hands of the bosses.

The second problem with the bill is that it poses no solution, even in the short term to the employers' attempt to discredit the NDP government by sabotaging the economy. The province and the labor movement may soon be confronted with new employer-provoked showdowns in many industries in already bad economic conditions, and the government will be faced with pressures to intervene once more.

It is clear, however, that the only defiance on labor's part has been verbal, and that mostly from the leadership. One significant episode, however, revealed a dangerous chasm opening up between the ranks and the leaders of the Canadian Pulpworkers' Union. At a meeting a couple of days after Bill 146 was passed some 80 delegates from 22 CPU locals voted 51.6% for a return to work and in opposition to the recommendation of the executive to stay out. Many of the delegates spoke of the pressure they were under from the ranks who were going back to work without waiting for word from the union leadership and who, in the words of one delegate, were "completely out of control" and "had no guts". Since the CPU is by far the largest in the pulp field it is decisive in that sector.

This chasm between the ranks and leaders, expressed not only in moves by the ranks back to work, but also in the obvious contempt for them expressed in the delegate's remarks, combined with their total lack of strike funds, indicates that the pulp unions would have been in serious



Dave Barrett

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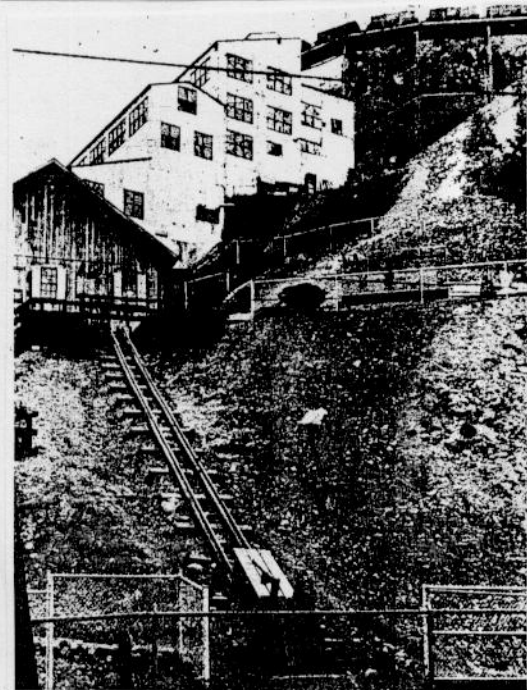
trouble had the strike been prolonged much more.

This situation was alluded to by the **Vancouver Province** in an editorial of October 9. Here, the worthy editors, after perfunctorily tipping their hats to the "public interest" and the necessity of ending the propane gas dispute, raised a number of questions from their own class (the employers' of course) point of view. Let's hear them: "...because of the shock felt by the opposition parties when they discovered that the government had gone much further...than anyone had expected, some vital questions...went unanswered."

"The basic question...was simple: what was the motive and justification behind each aspect of

the government's action?

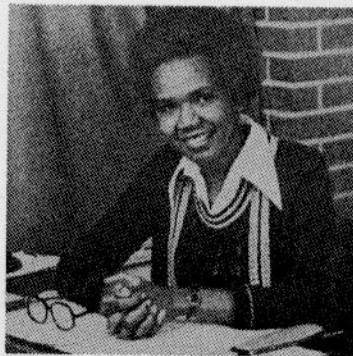
"...in the case of the forest dispute...other motives (were) involved as well. The pulp union, like a fighter too strong to fall but too weak or inept to defend himself, had reached the point where they and their membership had to be rescued from the impact of their own folly."



One of the several BC mines under sentence of closure by its owners in their continuing campaign to discredit the NDP government. The mining bosses, backed by the brokers' threats to close the Vancouver Stock Exchange if the NDP is re-elected, have recently been joined by BC business man Ben Ginter who announced the liquidation of all his diverse brewing and construction interests because, he claims, the government has loaded the dice heavily in favor of the unions with its new labor code.

In the days after the bill was enacted the IWA initialled and ratified an agreement for \$1.67 per hour over 2 years, and the popularity of the move has been amply demonstrated by the warm reception Barrett got on his recent speaking tour of the northern towns in BC. The only practical resistance to the legislation has come from several companies, some of which are being taken by unions before the Labor Relations Board for refusing to take back all their employees immediately. In one case some 100 members of the Bakers' union sat-in at Mother Hubbard Bakery in Langley to force the company to take all the workers back.

The BC Federation of Labour leadership has followed up its abortive attempt to get workers to defy the bill with so far equally unsuccessful attempts to run



Rosemary Brown voted against Bill 146.

supporters of its position for NDP constituency nominations to the next provincial elections against incumbent MLA's who voted for Bill 146. In Burrard constituency BC Federation research director and former riding secretary Ron Johnston lost to Cabinet Minister Norm Levi by 116 to 52 votes. No a very good showing for "one of the most effective labor centrals in North America". In part this poor performance is a product of the Federation's miserable record on the political action front in the past. Less than 10% of BC union locals are actually affiliated and have a direct voice in the party. In addition, the trade union leadership virtually boycotted the last provincial convention in a fit

of pique over the new labor code (Bill 11). An action which, notwithstanding the merits or demerits of Bill 11, could hardly be expected to win friends and influence people in the party.

In this context, the Vancouver Area Council rather than roundly condemning the MLA's, should have stated its opposition, explained the reasons and put forward an alternative course of action. Specifically, such an **alternative** could include a temporary government trusteeship over the affected industries combined with an invitation to the workers to run and help manage them.

The BC Fed had the responsibility to take advantage of the existence of an NDP/ labor government by explaining the lockout situation to the people of BC and calling upon the government to intervene clearly on the side of the workers.

Instead they were all outflanked by Barrett who took advantage of the unfortunate fact that, in Canada today, most workers do not usually see the union as themselves but as something external and often remote — the special preserve of "barracks lawyers", "plant politicians" and remote national and international leaders. The trade union leaders and the NDP left are now paying a heavy price for their bull-headed

economism and elitism.

In fact the whole episode around ill 146 demonstrates the deepening limitations of pure, economic trade unionism. It shows the necessity for the labor movement to shift emphasis and combine increased political action and public education with economic struggle.

In the current BC provincial election, socialists in the party will have the opportunity to rebuild some bridges in the work of re-electing an NDP government (with all its imperfections). Thus they can begin to lay the basis for a viable left wing in the future. A left wing whose criticisms will be more carefully attuned to the actual situation and the consciousness of the working class, so that it won't continually be outflanked by shrewd reformist politicians.

Rise of soldiers councils inspiration for Portugal

forward
#13 Nov 1975

by Carl Frost

Portugal today stands at the revolutionary crossroads. Similar to pre-October Russia of 1917, the Portuguese social structure is being shaken by violent eruptions that reach down to its very roots. Class forces of both the left and right are mobilizing in battles where the issue is being posed: who is to rule in Portugal? On this the 58th anniversary of the Russian Revolution it becomes useful to look back briefly at the revolutionary process that took place in 1917 and compare it to the events unfolding in Portugal.

In Russia, Premier Kerensky, the nominal head of the Russian state, presided over the fifth cabinet (government) in the seven months between February and October.

In Portugal, President Francisco da Costa Gomes heads up the sixth government (no more stable than the last five) in eighteen months.

The Portuguese government, and more precisely, the Popular Front coalition between the MFA (Armed Forces Movement), the Bourgeois PPD (Popular Democratic Party), the SP (Socialist Party), and the CP (Communist Party) which supports it have become paralyzed.

The coalition government, through the MFA, finds itself in a position not unlike that experienced by Alexander Kerensky in the period between July and October, 1917. Similar to Kerensky, who was forced reluctantly to defend the gains of the February revolution, the MFA is being pressured to carry out its 'revolutionary' program and further, to defend both its program and the government from the Spínolist putsches from the right.

While much of the MFA's program is merely revolutionary rhetoric, it does focus the aspirations of the Portuguese people for social reconstruction of the nation. For example, the MFA is pledged to carry out its program as defined by section 1.2 of the June 21st communique which stated: "(a socialist society was) the final objective to be achieved" and defined a socialist society as "a society without classes, obtained by the collectivisation of the means of productions, eliminating all forms of exploitation of man by man, and in which there will be granted to all individuals equal

opportunities for education, work, and advancement without distinction of birth, sex, religious belief or ideology."

In this context, the MFA's Popular Front coalition is trapped between the desire to maintain bourgeois rule typified by the programs of the PPD, and the bourgeois reformist program of the SP on the one hand, and the militant explosive aspirations of the workers and soldiers which still exert leftward pressure on the MFA which is still expected to live up to their revolutionary aspirations.

Further, the defence of the revolution, and the revolutionary gains against rightist reaction places tremendous pressure on the MFA and the governing council to carry out the revolutionary program or face replacement by other organs of power.

This process, of revolutionary defence of the gains made by the April 25 revolution, has pushed the working class and its allies, the rural proletariat (landless peasants) and the bulk of the lower ranks of the army into militant action. They have moved out and around the normal structures of organized power (the MFA committees and electoral structures, i.e., constituent assembly districts) setting up unique organs of their own.

In 1917 in Russia, the process of defense of the Revolution was carried out by the workers', soldiers' and peasants' organs of dual power — the Soviets. Similarly, in Portugal, the development of dual power organs, pitted against the old state apparatus are now in their formative stages. Through the creation of workers' and soldiers' commissions, the Portuguese working class, the lower ranks of the army and the peasantry are setting the stage for the breaking of the policial deadlock with the MFA, and carrying out the revolutionary program.

The need for organs of workers' power — the Soviets — is being fulfilled by the creation of two forms of workers' and soldiers' commissions. They are the Soldiers United Will Win (SUV) movement within the army, and the Workers Commissions that met in their First National Congress of Workers Commis-



Soldiers United celebrate with victory demonstration.

sions held in September at Covilha. The SUV (Soldados Unidos Vencorao), a formation of soldiers' councils or commissions within the armed forces, has been created as a defensive mechanism against rightist purges of militant soldiers. The most dramatic instance of these rightist moves was the attempted dissolution of the CICAP (Instructional Centre for Military Drivers) in Oporto, on the night of October 3-4, and the assault on the RASP (an artillery regiment of Serra do Pilar) on October 8, which had come to the aid of the CICAP soldiers.

The militant defense of the RASP was joined by Workers' and Tenants' Commissions and demonstrations, and occupations of barracks took place over a 4-day period between October 6-9.

It was in this militant defense against rightist troops who moved in to crush the Soldiers' Commissions at Oporto, and the counter-demonstrations of workers, peasants and soldiers against the PPD and the SP-led demonstrations in favour of the return of "order" and "discipline" to the armed forces, that the

soldiers' struggles commissions were created. The depth of these struggles resulted in many individual SP members refusing to participate in the demonstration. Further, the metal workers union (under SP leadership) left a major SP rally when it was verbally attacked by SP head Soares for calling for a strike during this crucial period for the government.

In an interview on October 15, a militant soldier of the RASP pointed out that "(the) struggle commission was elected in general assembly. It is responsible to this general assembly and recallable at any time if a meeting of the general assembly decides that it has not carried out its popular functions."

The functions of these commissions are not unlike those of the Soldiers' Soviets of 1917.

The expansion of the role of the Struggle Commission was matched by the spreading of integrated RASP-SUV commissions with those of the already formed workers' and tenants' commission. Again, a militant soldier of the SUV indicated the lessons drawn from the joint workers-RASP defense against the rightist forces on October 8th. They (the soldiers) had grasped the vital importance of extending and organizing our links with the workers in order to be able to keep our struggle going."

The development of rudimen-

→ p. 2



By Wayne Roberts

NDP and W/P controls

Trudeau's arbitrary and unmandated order of wage controls has provided a real test for the NDP as the parliamentary expression and political leadership of the labor movement. Should the NDP utter condemning phrases while counselling obedience to the "law of the land", despite the fact that Trudeau was elected on precisely the opposite promises? Should they call for a return to the previous situation of uncontrolled inflation and the "free market" battle for increased catch-up wages? Or should they take advantage of widespread sentiment for government action to control inflation by calling the government's bluff and advancing a program that would challenge the blatant bias and hollowness of the guidelines?

The NDP has responded in the context of the current mood, consciousness and leadership of the labor movement as a whole. Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis echoed the federal leadership in slamming the guidelines as a "policy of wage controls, price reviews and profit immunity". Pointing out the lack of effective price controls, he charged that it is "really wage controls without price controls and it means that the workers, the wage earners of Canada, are paying the price for the failure of the Trudeau government".

At the federal level, the NDP representatives and Broadbent in particular have exposed the guidelines and outlined their alternative. Buttressing Broadbent's proposals, federal MP Orlikow has demanded a public investigation of retailers who rigged their high prices to beat the guidelines. His colleague Les Benjamin has called for an immediate \$50 monthly increase for pensioners, a guaranteed minimal increase to low income earners of \$600, total exemption for those individuals earning less than \$7000 and families earning less than \$10,000, as well as \$1 or 2 billion housing program to take the pressure off increased prices.

On the provincial level, where the NDP forms the government in three provinces or where they can play as decisive a role as in Ontario, the NDP has the possibility to

implement aspects of this program. Federal NDP whip Lorne Nystrom has predicted that at least one NDP province will be challenging the federal wage guidelines. But the NDP role in some provinces has been more ambiguous, reflecting the weaknesses of the left in the party.

Even notorious right-winger Premier Schreyer of Manitoba has introduced rent controls, which he sees as a provincial complement to the federal program. Although he "senses" that the federal measures are unfair and "fears" that they will benefit only the coupon clippers, he nevertheless considers it "reasonable" for Manitoba to cooperate with the federal government and even expressed willingness to follow clarified wage guidelines for his government's employees.

Saskatchewan Premier Blakeney has also introduced rent controls in the context of putting the Trudeau government on the spot for its anti-labor bias. He sent shivers up the spines of federal government ministers by urging that the Anti-Inflation Board deny price increases to corporations unless they have been approved beforehand by the anti-inflation board — a reversal of the sequence Trudeau had proposed. He has called attention to the government's inability to account for the increased prices of commodities before the controls became mandatory. He has pointed out the arbitrary nature of the government guidelines which are strict on labor while leaving mortgage rates untouched. At the same time he has called for an amendment to federal plans to permit \$1200 rather than a mere \$600 increase for low wage earners.

BC Premier Barrett has taken by far the most vigorous offensive. His government has frozen food, drug and transportation prices. He has imposed rent controls that permit a maximum of 8% annual increase and coupled this with rollbacks of previously raised but unjustified increases. In one case a landlord has been ordered to compensate his tenants for \$3000 of overcharging. He has also moved to raise the minimum wage rates of the province to at least \$3 an hour to challenge the

guidelines.

In Ontario, Lewis attacked the Tory minority government's "blind obedience" to the federal controls which it welcomed as a measure that lets it off the hook in bargaining with the public sector. Although up to now he has counselled labour not to confront the guidelines on the dubious and unexplained grounds that this would be welcomed by Trudeau and Davis

, he has challenged the provincial government to remove itself from the umbrella of federal controls, especially in connection with the current teacher's negotiations. He has also challenged Davis to open the books of the oil companies before getting them any price increases and has virtually forced Davis to introduce rent controls and reviews. At the same time, he has pushed the government to control the salaries of highly paid executives and professionals.

A number of measures are incumbent on the NDP to expose the inequalities of the present program, to challenge the imposition of the wage guidelines while promoting demands for price controls. The NDP should continue and extend price and rent controls on all items under their jurisdiction. It should demand that corporate books be opened, that price-watch committees of consumers and workers be formed, measures which would bring the daily organizations of working people into play in the battle against corporate gouging. The party should unequivocally oppose any wage guidelines that restrict the right of workers to bargain collectively for the wages they deem necessary.

Never before has the relation between the trade union and political organization of the working class been posed so dramatically and dynamically. This experience should expose the relation between the Liberals and Tories and their corporate masters before the eyes of an aroused population. It will also apply a crucial test for labor's economic and political leadership. The NDP has begun to make the moves that are required.

Portugal

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tary forms of dual power within the army at Oporto has spread under the call of the assembly of unit delegates. Their call of October 9, 1975, stated that "only the independent organizations of the soldiers throughout the country can provide an effective response, safeguarding the interests of the exploited and oppressed" (and calls) "upon the soldier comrades of all units to hold general assemblies of soldiers and to elect soldiers' commissions." The decisive link up of soldiers' commissions and workers' and tenants' commissions sets the stage for a joint Congress of Soldiers', Workers', Tenants' and Peasants' commissions. Through these commissions and the formation of Popular Assemblies not only will the defense of the Portuguese revolution be assured but further, these necessary structures of dual power will place state power in the hands of those to whom it rightfully belongs — the Portuguese workers, soldiers and peasants.

The significance of the process is noted by Flora Lewis in her article for the *New York Times* of October 21. Writing from Portugal she states that "It is probably the first time since the Bolshevik Revolution that a military establishment has turned on itself in this way to launch class warfare..." The comparison is indeed accurate.

A decisive test between the commissions and the MFA and its governmental allies (be they the right wing PPD, the bourgeois reformist SP, or the shameful class collaborationist CP) is shaping up. The CP's role as "quasi"-participant in the coalition cabinet while giving tailist support to the SUV commissions who are under attack from the same government, is to be condemned by all on the left.

In the words of the soldiers of RALIS (Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment), if "Portugal will not be the Chile of Europe", then the growth and development of workers' and soldiers' commissions is crucial. If it is carried out in the spirit of the Russian Soviets coupled with the development of a revolutionary party of the Portuguese left (to give unity and coherence to a political program of socialist struggle and reconstruction) then it is possible that Portugal could be the first European country since 1917 to embark on the revolutionary road of socialist democracy.

Cdn sovereignty awash in wake of Manhattan

by Gord Doctorow

A devastating account of the Trudeau government's record on energy resource policy recently appeared in a special series in the *Toronto Star* by *Star* political editor David Crane. The source material for the series comes from confidential government files supplied mostly from a book *The National Interest* by York University Political Science Professor Edgar Dosman.

These revelations foreshadow the probable outcome of the National Energy Board hearings on proposals to invest billions of dollars (a considerable portion to come from the public purse) to build a natural gas pipeline along the Mackenzie River valley in Canada's far north.

Ironically, the first challenge by environmentalists at the hearings has been aimed at the integrity of the chairman of the NEB, Marshall Crowe. The reason? In 1970, Crowe presided over an inter-departmental meeting of senior civil servants that set in motion a secret campaign for a Mackenzie Valley pipeline. And, later on, as president of the Canada Development Corporation, Crowe brought the CDC into the Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Ltd. consortium (heavily weighted with the US oil giants) whose plan was to bring Alaskan (US) and Mackenzie Delta (Canadian) gas to US and Canadian markets via a Mackenzie Valley pipeline.

Not only is Crowe accused of corporate bias, but the National Energy Board itself has been revealed as a conduit for privileged information and secret deals between the US-based oil monopolies and the Trudeau administration. While playing the role of an ostensibly impartial hearing board to decide on the merits of gas and oil exploration projects, the NEB has doubled as a government advisory board, which unwaveringly promoted the interests of the oil monopolies.

The ignoble history of the NEB was launched in 1970 when it approved a unprecedented commitment of huge quantities of natural gas to US markets from the now-depleted reserves of Canadian gas. The NEB based its decision on the oil companies' unverified calculations of super-abundant surpluses of gas. This cozy arrangement was tied to the Liberal government's project of finding ways of increasing exports of the seemingly inexhaustible supplies of Canadian crude oil (calculated from the crude supplies of oil companies' figures) to US markets. If Nixon wanted gas, he had to buy oil.

That the Trudeau government "grossly miscalculated" Canada's energy resources and exercised

power, not in the interest of the Canadian people, but in the interest of the US government and the oil and gas industry is the reproachful conclusion of Crane's expose. From 1968 on, the Trudeau government's energy policy aimed to establish a continental energy pool with the US in which western and northern gas and oil would be linked by road and pipeline along the Mackenzie Valley route to the US industrial markets. Not an open policy, mind you, but one that was carried out behind closed doors, through secret memos, and not even subject to the scrutiny of parliament.

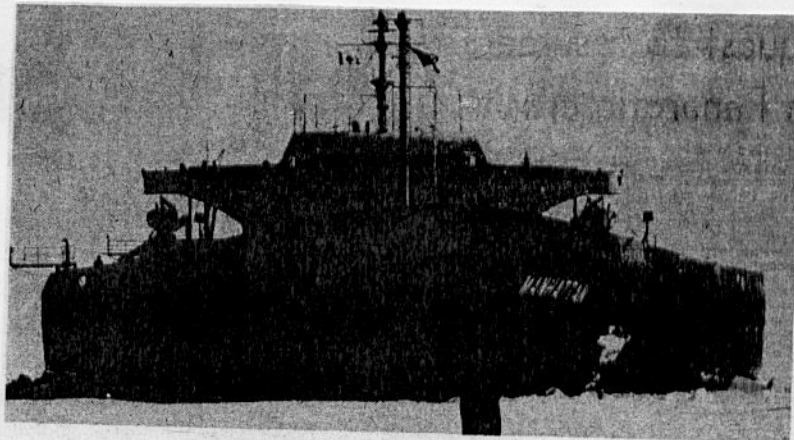
The record of the Trudeau government since 1968 shows:

—on the basis of the "fanciful figure" of the Canadian Petroleum Association, represented by the mostly foreign owned oil and gas corporations, the cabinet and senior civil servants have done everything to sell Canada's proved and cheaper reserves of oil and gas to the US as rapidly as possible.

—The cabinet was cowed into going along with the US government's violation of Canadian sovereignty over northern waters when in 1969 a US coast guard ship accompanied, without Canadian permission, a test voyage of a US supertanker through a northwest passage which could be used to transport Alaskan gas. In order not to offend the oil companies or the US government which Trudeau was trying to convince of the benefits of continental energy integration, the cabinet smiled benignly on the supertanker voyage and went to the limits of protocol to avoid a confrontation with Nixon over the coast guard ship by covering up and publicly lying that this was a joint project of the Canadian and US governments and that Canadian sovereignty wasn't being challenged despite statements by the Nixon administration to the contrary.

—The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development conspired to "shut the northern Indians and Eskimos out of much of the policy planning in the North, while paying lip service to participation." Secretly, the department pushed through plans for the Mackenzie route so that native groups would not be able to organize in time to settle their land claims.

—"Senior officials responsible for the North decided to rely on the oil and gas industry to deal with environmental research, while attempting to discredit public environmental groups who wanted much more independent research. At the same time the



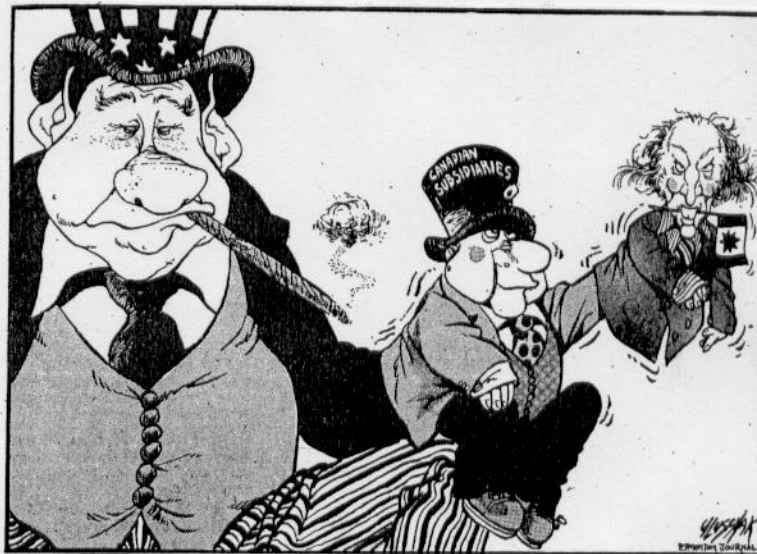
US super tanker Manhattan on its trip through the North West Passage. This ship with its companion icebreaker made a mockery of the government's claims of Canadian arctic sovereignty.

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development succeeded in blocking the Department of the Environment from assuming responsibility for protecting the ecological balance of the North."

The legacy of the Trudeau energy policy experience is one of sellout of Canada's energy resources to US imperialist interests, trampling on the rights of Canadian natives and Eskimos, squandering of millions of tax dollars in phony studies and coverups, further underwriting of Canadian public monies in the Syncrude project (engineered

again by US oil corporations), and submitting to public humiliation by crawling before the US government on the issue of sovereignty of Canadian waters.

The junior partners of US corporate power that constitute the ruling class of this country have no significant interests separate and apart from their masters in Washington whose ruthless drive for profit has little regard for the life conditions of workers and native peoples. Clearly, the only alternative to US corporate power in Canada is an independent and socialist Canada.



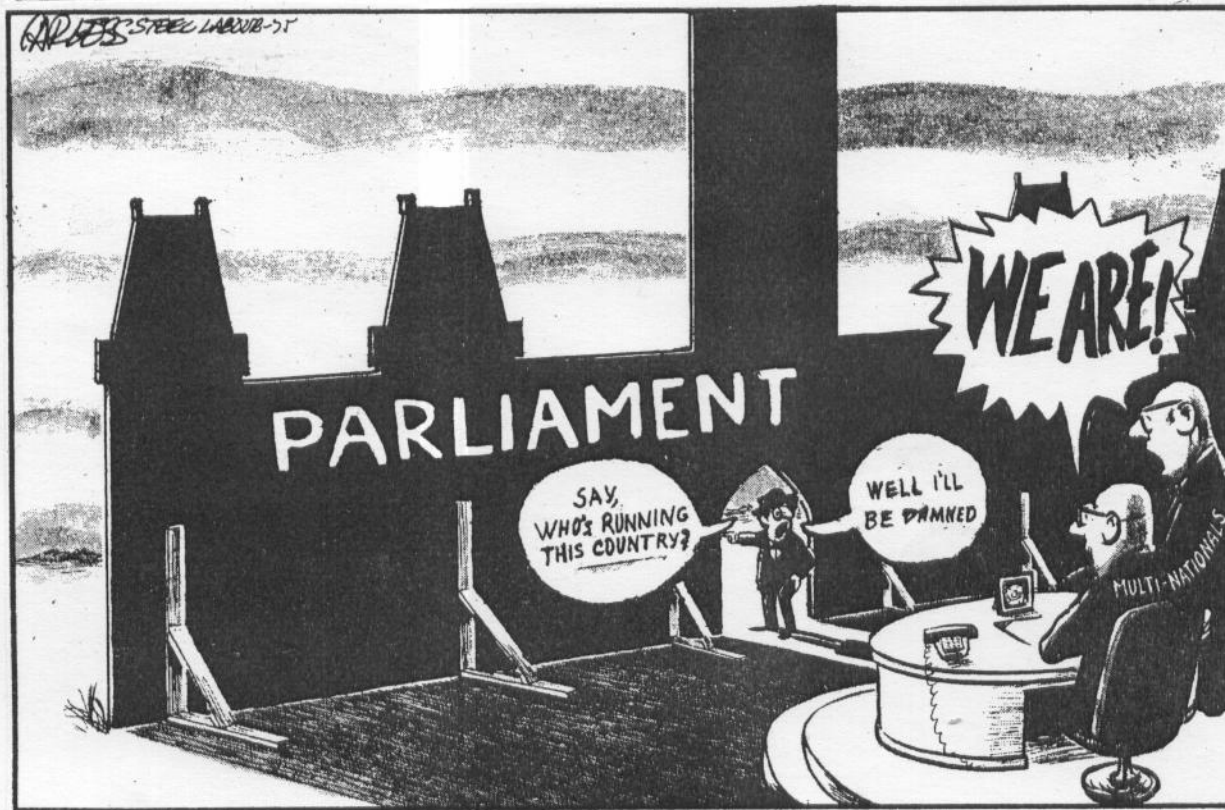
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forward
#13 Nov 1975

New study of corporate elite

Myth and reality of class in Canada

By Ross Dowson



Myth and reality of class in Canada

A new study of corporate elite

by Wallace Clement, 1975.

Book review by Ross Dowson: "The Canadian Corporate Elite"

(from Forward, November 1975)

"...there is not in Canada, as there is in so many other countries, any nobility, and government or corporate power structure, and class perpetuated by inherited wealth... the 'establishment' is in most cases a will-of-the-wisp creation of complainers who summon it into being in order to exploit it for their own purposes." So said Canada's Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau to a group of Italian business men in Toronto on December 2, 1971.

An increasing number of Canadians know that this statement by Mr. Trudeau, lacking the rhetorical garnish he usually employs, is not true. From their own experiences and observations, they know that there is something that certainly could be called a corporate power structure, that the owners and spokesmen of the giant business formations head up a vast network that could be called a system which defends and promotes their interests. They know that they, as their fathers and mothers before them and their sons and daughters to follow will have to work at a job that will provide them with little more than a pay-day to pay-day living. They know that they are workers and in all probability will never be anything else. And that there is what could well be called an establishment composed of persons who constitute a ruling class which looks after its own, perpetuated by inherited positions and inherited wealth.

But what are the actual facts of the matter? How can Trudeau's lies be refuted for one's own satisfaction and for the benefit of others whom they are designed to trick and deceive. And having the facts, how are they to be understood so that we can act?

New source of information

A great accumulation of facts, the bulk of it gathered from government statisticians, from business institutions and the work of social researchers, not only up-to-date but projecting tempo and direction are now available in Wallace Clement's book *The Canadian Corporate Elite — an analysis of economic power*.

Clement also presents an analysis and a critique of the various theories that others have used to interpret and explain such data. Often these sections of the book are obscure and make for difficult reading. The book is written on several planes to different levels of interest and sophistication. But the material is there waiting to be pulled out and presented in the labor, student and women's press. The working people of Canada are indebted to Wallace Clement and all who helped him put out this book.

Clement's study of the Canadian economic elite and the media elite from which he concludes there is a corporate elite, does not stand on its own. It is firmly rooted on the pioneer work by John Porter — *The Vertical Mosaic* — the first comprehensive study of

the structure of Canadian society. In that it stands on Porter's work and comes out of the radicalization of the '60s in which the conclusions of *Vertical Mosaic* played not an insignificant role, it is in many ways a superior work. It updates Porter who commenced writing 20 years ago with basically 1952 data. Clement's basic data is from 1972 and some is even more recent. It is much more plentiful and succeeds in delineating social change over time.

That Clement was able to gain much from a whole series of new and stimulating studies that have been coming out of the radicalization, studies that have been grappling with the development of the Canadian economy and its class structure and in particular the colossal impact of the United States upon it, is testified to by the excellent synoptic economic history of Canada in the 52 pages of Chapter II.

"What does Clement's study tell us about Trudeau's claims that there is no such thing as a Canadian establishment, that there is no corporate power structure and class; perpetuated by inherited wealth — in effect his pretense that Canada is an open society where anyone, if they really desire to do so, "can make it"?

He shows that we live in an extremely highly structured society where there are not only vast inequalities but that Canadian society is so structured that it creates and sustains inequalities which are in the process of widening.

He demonstrates conclusively that education, often looked upon as a lever to step out of a position of inequality, is an institution which, while not a cause, actually reinforces inequality.

His study of the economic elite, the 946 individuals holding a total of 1454 corporate directorships in dominant corporations identified from the *Financial Post Directory of Directors, 1972* (Porter used the 1951 list), shows that three-fifths of the present elite came from upper class origins. This was an increase of almost 10% from the origins of the economic elite 20 years ago.

The power of this economic elite has notably increased by the mere continuation of the process of monopolization of the Canadian economy. Of the 183 largest companies in 1951, 43 merged into 17 companies by 1972. Within this highly select economic elite is a hierarchy who hold directorships in several corporations. In 1951, 203 members of this elite, representing 22% of the total, held more than one dominant directorship and together held 46% of all dominant directorships. By 1972 some 29% held interlocking directorships and together held 54% of the total of all dominant directorships.

The other process that Clements notes as accelerating over the past two decades has been the increasing penetration of the Canadian economy by foreign, largely US, investment. "US economic elites have penetrated the Canadian power structure and created a distorted elite formation at the top of the economic hierarchy ... a very clearly defined set of people — the board of the parent company (in the US) have ownership and control rights over the Canadian subsidiary ... This means, for example, that ownership is

highly concentrated in about one half of the 113 largest corporations operating in Canada simply because they are subsidiaries of foreign controlled multinationals.

What about the participation of the ethnic groups and the French Canadians in this much touted era of flourishing multiculturalism and biculturalism?

While French Canadians constitute almost one third of the population in 1951, they only numbered 51, a mere 6.7%, in the economic elite. Some 22 years later, much talk, some legislation and a considerable expansion of the Quebec economy -- and they have made no significant inroads into elite circles. Only 65 members of the current economic elite are French Canadian bringing that component up to only 8.4%. Nor have they made it in the middle range and smaller corporations. "A recent study based on 12,741 names of executives from some 2,400 companies operating in Canada (shows) only 9.48% to be French Canadian."

Although over one quarter of Canada's population is made up of ethnic groups other than the Anglo- and French-Canadians they have almost no representation in the economic elite. There are only 32 Jewish Canadians and 10 from other "third" ethnic groups in today's economic elite. In 1951 there were only 6 Jews (.78%) in the elite — by 1972 there were 32 (4.1%). However the 32 are associated with five corporations — 28 with one of them (one corporation). They are tightly held family firms with only 6 families accounting for 25 of the 32, indicating that their mobility has not been through established corporations but through firms that have developed on the outside and grown in national stature within one generation.

Myth unfounded

Their representation in financial corporations, contrary to established myth, is well below their proportion of the entire economic elite. Clement shows in his interesting study of the private world of the economic elite that only two Jews belong to one of the six national exclusive men's clubs.

The economic elite of Canada is overwhelmingly Anglo, predominantly of the Anglican religious denomination, (25.5% in 1951, and 25.3% in 1972) almost exclusively male, and university educated.

Of the 946 persons holding elite positions only six are women. According to Clement's research, 4 of them proved to be non-persons — adequate biographical data was available for only 2. From the Report of the Royal Commission on the status of women, we learn that women hold only 41 of the 5,889 directorships examined and only 8 of the 1469 senior executive positions in Canadian corporations.

While less than 10% of the (general) male population in the same age group as the economic elite have had any education past secondary school, and only about 5% have university degrees, over 80% of the elite has university training and an additional four per

cent have other post-secondary education. Of the 104 who did not have a university education, 26 attended private schools and 21 inherited their positions in the elite.

Concentrated power

Clement concludes that "as long as economic power is allowed to remain in its present concentrated state, there appears to be no hope for equality of opportunity or equality of condition in Canada."

There is one problem that runs like a burning fuse right through the book. Despite his making passes at it Clement leaves it burning, unsettled —that question of US ownership and control of important sectors of the Canadian economy and its ramifications.

He notes that "Porter's study of the 1948-50 structure of corporate. capitalism captured the situation just prior to a great surge of US direct investment and rapid growth of the 1950s and 60's." But even then Porter felt pressured to write "Rather than a Canadian elite we should perhaps be searching for a foreign or international elite." He noted as the "one outstanding feature of Canadian economic structure — foreign ownership and control of a large number of Canadian corporations. Foreign control implies that important decisions about the economic system are made outside the country."

Clement constantly affirms that there is a Canadian bourgeoisie, and one that is powerful, although just who would deny this is unclear. On the other hand the book is studded with such statements as "In terms of the power to decide about the allocation of resources in Canada, there has been a regression to the underdevelopment of decision making (though not total underdevelopment of 'material' well-being), with loss of control over the future development, over stability built on an indigenous base, and over the retention and allocation of surplus", and information such as foreign control has increased from 27% of the elite positions (in dominant corporations) in 1951, to 40% in 1972. **He quotes Panitch and Whitaker favorably to the effect that "Canada lacks a *national bourgeoisie* in the sense that the USA, Britain, Germany, France and Japan have *national bourgeoisies*" (emphasis by the Web Ed.)**

Some concepts that Clement argues; the sectorized division of the economy between the Canadian (indigenous) elite and the (parasitic) US elite, between finance and utilities, and industry and resources, appear to us to be overly rigid, particularly in the light of the continual acceleration of US investment. He does not appear to us to sufficiently allow for developments such as the inroads that US banking interests are in the process of making in the Canadian financial structure.

Clement employs the word 'comprador' to described that section of the elite that serves as agents of US ownerships. This deteriorates into a self-defined status when he accepts elite members, holding directorships in both US and indigenous controlled corporations, at their own word as to their "principal occupation." It is no more satisfactory when he takes it upon himself to allocate Neil McKinnon to the indigenous Canadian camp, though he is on the board of directors of the US-owned Ford and Falconbridge giants,

because "his main corporate affiliation is, as chairman of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce..."

In respect to the question whether the Canadian capitalist class, the US capitalist class, or even some kind of combination of the two actually own and control Canada, this is an unfinished book. But Clement, despite all 429 pages, freely admits this. He suggests that there are at least two more studies in the works to round it out — one on the state system, and another on the continental economy of North America.

We are impatient to get to the second course of the feast.

The Canadian Corporate Elite — an analysis of Economic Power;
Wallace Clement, McClelland and Stewart, \$4.95. Order through
Forward Books, 53 Gerrard St. West, Toronto.

by J. Jennings

Ah Television — what scenarios you present us! The off tube ones are as exciting as the rest. They combine the braggadocio of situation comedy with the choreography of sport. Some should really be orchestrated with old standard songs like "Who's Sorry Now?" Doesn't that fit? Archie Bunker being blacked out over and over again to a swelling background of "who's jamming now...we tried to warn you somehow..." Enter the CRTC, bastion of the Canadian National Consciousness..."You've had your way...Now you must pay..."

The great TV blackout scare has captured headlines, been carried in Kissinger's briefcase on his recent visit to Ottawa, and has become the topic of more ill informed debate than streaking or the USSR-Canada hockey series.

To follow such entertainment you have to know the rules and the form. It's a little different from most sports because each side has their own umpire. The umpires' main job is to referee fights on their own team.

The US Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC) normally umpire the disputes in their own teams. Confusing? Not really. Air space, like water, is administered by the state, at the public expense, for exploitation by private capital. The umpire Commissions soothe the conflicts of interest within this framework — for the capitalist class.

Now NBC and ABC and CBS all get together and went to the FCC to ask permission to stop Canadian players from using their puck (so to speak). The Hollywood film industry is also involved because they sell game equipment like film and stuff to the Canadians (CBC, CTV, et al). But let's leave any further digging into the complications on their side of the border to some US socialist journal.

We have a genuine homegrown broohaw of our own. Let's switch to our local channel.

The main conflict in the "who gets jammed" debate is between Canadian corporations, who want to buy cheap advertising from US border stations, and the Canadian TV Industry. And that's not the end of it. The private networks are in conflict with the CBC, and the stunted young hopeful Canadian film production industry doesn't feel it's getting a fair shake. The cable companies are full of secret slatherings to fill the holes in Archie

Old culture for new money

The national airwave game

forward

#13 Nov 1975

Bunker (that the umpire has had them make) with lucrative paid advertising.

This is not a cultural debate. I suspect the only reason that "Canadian Content" has tended to lean toward more highbrow programming is that highbrow is cheaper. Talk shows are less expensive — and any aura of liberality is probably due to the fact that liberals will blandtalk longer for less.

Canadian studios want to produce the same slick situation comedies and action-packed schlok as their giant big brothers south of the border — because that's where the money is — that's where the market is at. That's what people are used to. But the studios didn't even get to make enough commercials.

You see it pays to make commercials in the States. And those nasty corporations (from whom all Nationalism flows) want to go where it pays. It pays to buy TV programs in the States. And those nasty private networks (who wrap themselves in the flag of independent broadcasting) go where it pays. Heck! Even old Mother Hubbard CBC has got her dander up (because of bad ratings) and is forgetting her place in a flush of competitiveness.

The umpire wasn't very happy about that! Just last year the CRTC told the CBC to back off from providing the public with what it wanted. That wasn't its job. (Because it pays, the form is to leave it to the private sector. The umpire thought that the CBC might just build their audiences enough to take advertising away from old John Basset. And that wasn't sporting at all.)

The fans (and little leaguers are the biggest fans of all) are most vocally represented by our



FREE ENTERPRISE

creative community and independent studios. As one explained the hardships of the game, our "...TV film industry is dying from a disease called American competition... Why should television networks here dish out the massive sums of money to make a good, glossy, technically superb Canadian show when they can buy an American one for a fraction of the cost?" That's it man. Keep a stiff upper lip. You know the rules of the game. Everybody's out to make a buck. You can't blame them can you — it's capitalist nature. The form is to hide behind a smokescreen of "National Culture" and peddle off everything you can get your hands on. The junior members of the North American capitalists have

no national identity.

Art, Canadian or otherwise cannot flower in the shadow of corporate interest in this day and age. Let's fight for universal public broadcasting without advertising. Let's tax the corporations to pay for it. We produce everything they own — let them pay for our entertainment.

Let's free our artists and technicians to produce their best. Let's have community control of programming.

If a lot of people still want Archie Bunker there will still be people around to do that kind of thing. People dig the song "...Dief will be Chief again." But keep the faith — he won't, you know. Community control and public ownership, with most people being under the age of thirty, will not incline to political nostalgia.

Mao steers ruinous world course

by Abe Levi

US Secretary of State Kissinger's October 19 foray into China was met by the enthusiastic welcome of Mao Tse-Tung, in the newly established tradition of eagerly hosting such great American leaders as former president Nixon. The continued departure from China's revolutionary image by the Chinese government's foreign policy offer Mao's admirers new perplexities.

Peking's policy of peaceful coexistence with US imperialism provides us with an insight into the true nature of the politics of the Chinese leadership. Teng Hsiao-ping, at an October 5 banquet, said in reference to the Soviet Union that: "Today the most dangerous source of war is the superpower that is most zealous in preaching peace" (emphasis added). This statement and others which place US imperialism a notch below heaven in comparison with the Soviet workers' state, have brought no objections from Mao or his supporters. The hypocritical criticism of the Soviet leadership (who indeed are revisionist bureaucrats as well) is combined with the astounding advice that NATO military forces be strengthened to counter Soviet "hegemonism".

By considering "third world" governments as, by definition, anti-imperialist and by classifying the Soviet Union as "social

imperialist" in nature, the Chinese government's foreign policy lays down the rationale for the most blatant acts of subservience before capitalist regimes. Mao's China has declined to break diplomatic relations with the Chilean junta and has recently accredited a new ambassador from the junta at a time when an international defence of the Chilean political prisoners was being formed. China's publications have still not explained why the Chinese embassy refused to admit political refugees from the Chilean counterrevolution and in fact have not even informed their population of the junta's terror in Chile.

The class collaborationist policy of the Chinese bureaucracy extends to Angola where its support goes to the right wing Angola National Liberation Front (FNLA) backed by Joseph Mobutu and financed by the CIA. Mobutu, the head of the Zaire (Congo) state, a current ally of China, was one of the murderers of African revolutionist Lumumba. Among the assorted favorites of Chinese foreign policy have been the regimes in Pakistan during the rebellion by East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and the regime in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) during its repression of a mass youth rebellion.

In the advanced capitalist countries, Chinese policy has consisted of a treacherous

opposition to the Socialist-Communist Party electoral bloc of France in favour of the current capitalist President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. And the hosting of Britain's Edward Heath, as if he were the head of the country's government, seemed to be a consolation prize after his being defeated by the British Labour Party.

The foreign policy of the Chinese leadership, which threatens the entire working class movement across the world, stems from its social position as a bureaucratic caste alienated from and hostile to the working masses. Like all bureaucracies, it lacks any confidence in their revolutionary potential. This fundamentally un-Marxist attitude led its Stalinist progenitors to abandon the world struggle of the workers and to attempt to build "socialism in one country", seeking to make deals with imperialist governments and to play them off against each other.

The bitter fruit of these treacherous policies have been tragically revealed over the last half century. Time and time again it has been made clear that, far from serving even the short term interest of bureaucrats, betrayals of the masses can only strengthen the hand of imperialism against the workers' states. Stalin's faith in and support for the "peace-loving" Hitler against the western imperialists and the German workers nearly brought about the annihilation of the USSR and of humanity itself.

The Chinese bureaucracy has a long history of Stalinist asinities, from its class-collaborationist popular front with Chiang Kai-shek to its open and shameless support of NATO and all other reactionary anti-Soviet alliances which are fronts for US imperialism. In China itself, Mao's romance with the bourgeois butchers of the Kuomintang was repeatedly drowned in rivers of blood, but the gentlemen in Peking do not seem to have learned the lessons of history. They continue to rely on the illusion of some deal with imperialism rather than a united front of an independent workers' movement.



Teng Hsiao-Ping, reviled as the "number two Krushov" during the cultural revolution, with Kissinger in New York in 1974.

Editor: Wayne Roberts

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Is Zionism racist?

The response of "statesmen" to a United Nations committee resolution classifying Zionism as a form of racism was typical and to be expected. US delegate Leonard Garment stated the resolution put the UN "at the point of officially endorsing anti-Semitism". Israeli diplomats stated that the Arabs, who sponsored the motion, "are determined to revive and spread anti-Semitism throughout the world". And a US official said: "The fascists in Chile and some like-minded military regimes are lining up with the anti-Semites". Time has already proven this last charge invalid — Chile's military butchers made an about face within days.

But are the other charges true? Are those who equate Zionism with racism anti-Semitic?

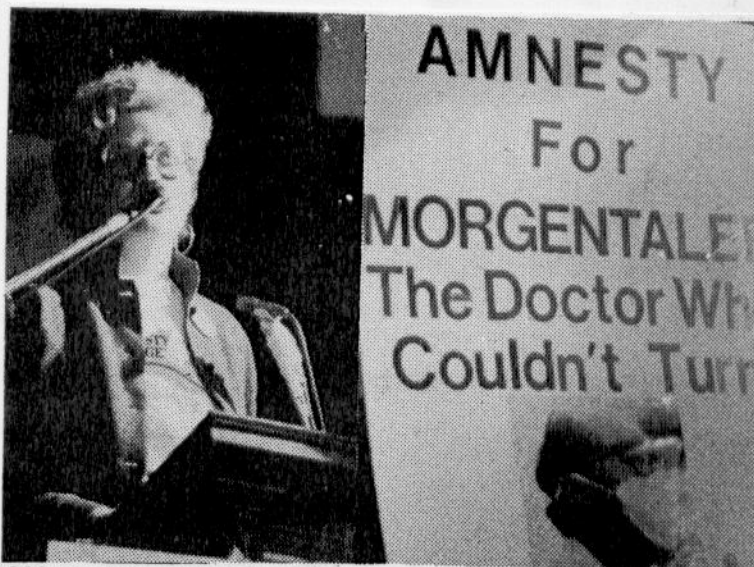
Such a charge is based on an identity between the interests of Jewish people and Israel, between Jews and Zionism. It should be noted however, that historically the mass of Jews have always rejected Zionism, rejected the creation of a separate Jewish state as a solution to the historical oppression of the Jewish nationality. Only with the holocaust and mass murder of six million Jews by the Nazi barbarians did Jews turn to the Israeli nation-state as "the" solution.

But is Israel a haven for the Jewish people? Paradoxically, Israel is the last place where Jews feel secure.

An impassionate, objective assessment of the experience of Zionism cannot help but note that, far from providing security to the Jewish people, Israel has become a death-trap, pitting the sons and daughters of European, Asian and African Jews against the Palestinian people who have been living on the stretch of land currently designated as Israel for centuries. Excluded from that land by military force, barred from returning to their homes by racist laws inherited from the days of the British mandate, subject to discriminatory and racist treatment by the religious regime of Israel, excluded from social, financial and cultural benefits freely available to the Israeli Hebrews, the Palestinian people are clearly struggling against a state based on exclusivity, a racist state.

Thus Zionism is not only racist; it is a death trap contrived by imperialism, at the expense of the Hebrews, to serve its nefarious political goals of maintaining disunity within the Arab world and a dependent client state available for political sacrifice should the politics of imperialism deem it advisable.

Are the United States and European governments, who stood silently by during the holocaust, refusing to open their doors to Jews fleeing Nazism, now self-righteously condemning the UN resolution simply playing on guilt feelings while justifying once again their use of Jews for their imperialist goals?



800 people attended an October benefit-rally for imprisoned Dr Henry Morgenthau and raised \$2000 for his support. Initiated by the Canadian Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws and widely endorsed by the civil liberties and labor communities, the rally featured Pierre Berton as MC, US feminist and radio personality Florence Kennedy and author of a new biography of Morgenthau Eleanor Peirine.

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The October crisis fraud

Confirmed five years after

(Editorial note from the Editors of Forward, November 1975)

Today, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the War Measures Act (WMA), a CBC special on the October crisis featured leading politicians dissociating themselves from the Trudeau government. Former Liberal cabinet minister Eric Kierans and Conservative opposition leader Stanfield are rushing into the lineup asking for public forgiveness now that they admit that the WMA was a case of "overkill," which they lacked the courage to condemn at the time. Quebec premier Bourassa admits that the "state of apprehended insurrection" was a pure ploy drawn up to legitimize the WMA — a means of circumventing the Quebec legislature and providing legal cover for federal emergency action.

Meanwhile the Trudeau government continues with its attempts to prepare the grounds for new legislation, as punitive and far reaching as the WMA without requiring all the hysteria.

Editors and parliamentarians may also be shivering over the discrediting revelation to broad numbers of Canadians that their roles as defenders of freedom fell far short of public expectations. Parliament, the Tory parliamentary opposition and the media supposedly act to protect democracy against the autocratic tendencies of any government. Instead, they backed the totalitarian drift to the hilt.

Their reaction to the WMA at the time reveals clearly that the labour movement, the NDP and the left are the only serious forces that will stand up for democracy.

Today we reprint a statement of the time by frequent Forward contributor, Ross Dowson. The article was written early in November 1970 for a contemporary socialist journal.

The Trudeau government is now replacing the War Measures Act, with which it arrogated to itself sweeping totalitarian powers allegedly to cope with the "apprehended insurrection" posed by the FLQ, at the same time as it is fueling a smoke screen of rumours about a sinister plot by prominent Quebec figures alleged to have aimed to usurp the authority of Premier Bourassa's Liberal government with a provisional regime.

Thus at one and the same time it attempts to assure the Canadian people, profoundly disturbed by the destruction with one blow of every basic human right and liberty, that there was a for a period no other recourse open to it and that now it is coming through on its promise that the enforcement of the act was only temporary and something approaching normalcy will shortly again prevail.

But the legislation now being introduced by Minister of Justice Turner clearly reveals that the government intends to write into the statute books some of the most repressive

aspects of the War Measures Act (search and arrest without warrant, detention without charge, etc.) while leaving the act itself in reserve — even if it is no longer to be applied at this time.

All this clearly answers the question that has continued to plague ever-widening circles. Why did the Trudeau government resort to such totalitarian powers, to such an ultimate weapon as the War Measures Act? Why didn't it utilize the crushing powers already available to it in the Criminal Code and elsewhere?

The picture is clearing up. The Trudeau government sought to take advantage of the crisis thrust on it by the kidnappings and murder, first and foremost to strike a body blow against Quebec nationalism which continues to grow and develop an increasingly independentist and revolutionary character.

It seeks new and added powers to use against the Québécois.

At the same time it seeks to create a climate whereby it can turn back the campus revolt — the ongoing radicalization of the youth in the universities and high schools. And simultaneously it is trying to prepare the conditions that would enable it to move in against the organized labour movement and render it less able to defend its interests.

With the enactment of the War Measures Act the Minister of Justice cautioned against the settling of old scores, against excesses.

The B.C. Socred (*right-wing Social Credit party—ed.*) government has passed an order to council barring from employment in institutions dispensing state funds anyone alleged to support the aims of the F.L.Q. and to advocate the overthrow of government by force and violence. This has already resulted in the firing of teacher Arthur Olson. The echo of this is found in the Toronto Board of Education. Are these excesses?

The address of W.H. Kelly, former deputy commissioner of the RCMP, to the Ottawa Canadian Club has received widespread publicity over the mass media. He demanded stiffer immigration procedures to keep out or to deport foreign radicals already in the country — particularly those on the campuses. He called for greater power for the police, including the formal right to grill suspects, and freer use of wiretapping. Is that an excess?

The harassment of the cross-Canada university student press, the seizure of Maoist publications, the taking into custody of seven of the Vancouver Liberation Front, the persecution by the Toronto police of a draft evader to the point where he finally fled and placed himself at the mercy of U.S. authorities — are these excesses?

The self-imposed banning by CTV of a TV program because it touched on the Quebec situation. CBC's banning of a documentary on Lenin. CBC president George Davidson's order to news service employees to impose self-censorship on coverage of the Quebec crisis. Are these excesses?

Far from being excesses they are exactly what persons in high government office, spokesmen for capitalist class interest in various areas, have been advocating all along.

And they are the inevitable result of the enactment of the War Measures Act which at one blow imposed all the legal conditions for a police state: the authorization by law of the police arrest and detention without warrant of anyone suspected of being a member of an unlawful organization, entry and search without warrant, detention without charge for seven days and up to 21 days on authority of an attorney general, incarceration in jail up to 90 days before a trial date need be set.

Under this act Quebec was invaded and occupied by a federal army of 7,500 men. Police raids resulted in the arrest so far of 405 persons all of whom were held incommunicado and without charge for days.

The enactment of the War Measures Act revealed in a blinding light that the much vaunted civil rights and democratic processes that are supposed to be woven into the very fabric of present day society are to all intents and purposes nonexistent.

When it was made to appear that the power of the state itself was being infringed upon, all the institutions of parliamentary democracy – Bill of Rights, House of Commons – all were cynically swept aside.

The army and the police took over on the authorization of a handful of men. With the receipt of a letter from Mr. Bourassa and another from Montreal's Mayor Drapeau drawn up two or three days earlier but dispatched to Ottawa at an agreed time, four cabinet ministers worked on documents for about an hour and dispatched them to the Governor General Roland Michener who signed them.

Canada awoke the next morning under the War Measures Act and several hundred Québécois were in jail.

The custodians of our civil rights were revealed to be the collective consciousness of the people of Canada and the specific instruments that the working class above all has forged in struggle — the trade unions, the New Democratic Party and the various other currents and tendencies of the left.

After the first shock of confusion, the socialists, civil libertarians, the NDP parliamentary caucus and the unions responded to the challenge. On the broad scale the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the NDP parliamentary caucus and the united Quebec labor movement has been instrumental in arousing the wide popular concern.

That is not to say that there has been no serious weakness in both areas. The apparent agreement of NDP MP's to go along now with the codifying of certain aspects of the War Measures Act is particularly dangerous.

The struggle must now go on. New layers must be awakened, educated and activated to win the release of all the Québécois now imprisoned under the Act, to compel the withdrawal of the troops occupying Quebec and the abolition of the War Measures Act and to prevent the enactment of repressive legislation of any type.

(November 1970)

Forward Forum

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CLASS I : THE ROOTS OF THE QUEBECOIS NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Friday
Dec. 3
8:00pm

What gave rise to modern nationalism in Quebec?
How do Marxists approach the special oppression of
the Quebecois in Canadian history?

Speaker: Wayne Roberts, editor of Forward and
university lecturer in Canadian history.



CLASS II : QUEBEC SINCE THE QUIET REVOLUTION

Friday
Dec. 10
8:00pm

What caused the failure of the Quiet Revolution?
How have different social and political forces
responded to the developing crises in Quebec?

Speaker: Wayne Roberts

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class series

Chinese Conflicts Today

CLASS I : BACKGROUND TO THE TURMOIL IN CHINESE POLITICAL LIFE

Fri.

Dec. 17

8:00 pm

The formation and operation of the Chinese Communist Party during the revolutionary struggle. The conflicting ideas and theories that led to the continual political upheavels in Chinese life today. The role played by the Trotskyists in the Chinese Communist Party and the Trotskyist movement.

Speaker: Abie Weisfeld, Forward contributor



CLASS II : POWER, POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN MODERN CHINA

Fri.

Dec. 24

8:00 pm

Myth and reality in the convulsions of the Cultural revolution, and the struggle to succeed Mao Tse-tung. Moderates and Radicals? Rightists and Leftists? Who is fighting for what?

Speaker: Abie Weisfeld

A Labors Manifesto Important cause that
of Brian - also broad at CCA
Congress -

In the program of action that flows out of
the manifesto is the proposal for gen strike -
So I would suppose we would support the document

claims to keep new program + a reexamination of the
CLC's org structures

flowing out of the new stage of history declared
by the govt controls on wages

- claims the govt action knocks the stilts from under the
economic social + even political ideas which the CLC
has heretofore had

- claims that labor's pol isolation ended - new allies oppose
the controls
- claims the controls are a political + not an economic weapon
designed to transform the institutions of Canada

defeat controls + in the wake of that defeat create a more equitable
+ just society
labor
talks of transforming the pol + economic institutions of Canada

Sees govt intention - most likely intent - Liberal corporatism
most likely outcome - come out of controls in such a way as to block labor
from recovering from its losses

p 8 - sees govt managers as having ~~the~~ ^{always have had} same aim as corporation managers

Keynesian methods have proven ineffective - arms length ruled - the
govt now having to undermine effectiveness of unions

Sees govt now having idea of staying in the picture - whereas I used
to come in + then
clear out

Sees liberal corporatism if we don't have power to resist - seen as a
sit back
but claims we have power to resist the controls + create dual democracy
need to develop a national bargaining power

(B)

labor won't enter into any tripartite arrangement unless it has full partnership status

tripartism can't alter the fundamental fact of the close identification between govt + business interests

A prerequisite of tripartism — management gives up its unilateral right to determine investment + prices otherwise union org would become their arm to restrain workers unlikely to be conceded — won't share power with labor if don't concede tripartism would turn into a method of control over labor unions

Nonetheless tripartism should be an objective of labor

NB. [Since the wresting of power away from business + its govt is the interest of labor is our legitimate goal. This is the price industry + govt must pay]

the Price of labor's support — famous quote

Pro of its centralization of govt — points to FP Article
Rehabilitation of BNA act

Object into the act

Not a question of cooperation with the govt but one of strength and bargaining ability — which labor has both

[danger of being coopted
wrgs more power to CLC —

means the brass
RD interpolation

Requirement — Business + govt must share their power with labor — have put forward program

Program — general — can only be realized if labor full partner
far reach

need a system of national social + economic planning
Program to defeat controls + achieve ntl social + economic planning

— outlines —

~~Does~~

Doesn't project the essential political task
before us to realize program

either parliamentarist or otherwise

talks in terms of sharing of power although
General draws class lines — govt + corporations
without class terms

For us the strength of the CUC
would mean increased democracy

General/workshopping

~~in fact~~

at this juncture open rallies + conferences
prepare the strike ~~but stop just in~~
solidarity with locals fighting rollbacks

Why don't raise NDP

reluctant to take on NDP Branch

We give critical support
to this document as marking a step forward in the
+ that we promote discussion + participate
in it to deep ~~participate~~ ~~participate~~

understand of state
pol action

struggle
of
the
central
+ the general
strike
action

John Cleary

Proudhon, from prison 1852

The movement is no doubt irregular and crooked but the tendency is constant.

What every government does in turn in favor of revolution becomes inviolable; what is attempted against it passes over like a cloud.

I enjoy watching this spectacle in which I understand every single picture. I observe these changes in the life of the world as if I had received their explanation from above;

What oppresses others elevates me more and more; inspires and fortifies me. How can you want me then to accuse destiny, to complain about people and curse them? Destiny-- I laugh at it; and as for men, they are too ignorant, too enslaved for me to feel annoyed at them.

Arise you prisoners of starvation, arise you wretched of the earth .

For justice thunders condemnation, a better world's in birth.

No more tradition's chains shall bind us . Arise you slaves, no more
in thrall
The earth shall rise on new foundations, we have been ^Nought, we shall
be all.

'Tis the final conflict, let us stand in our place ;

The international party shall be the human race.

'Tis the final conflict, let us stand in our place ;

The international party shall be the human race.

For mass rally of Cdn labor to beat controls

By the editors

The calling and the organization of a congress of all unions of the Canadian Labour Congress, the Quebec Confederation of National Trade Unions, and the provincial teachers' organizations to map out a plan of action against the Trudeau government's wage freeze is now a matter of extreme urgency.

The anti-inflation legislation, so called to sustain the fraud that it is something completely different from what it truly is — purely and simply a wage freeze — has now been passed through parliament. It has been imposed by a mechanical Liberal majority which not only has no mandate, but even campaigned against controls in getting elected.

The NDP voted against it once, alone, (the Tories dissociating themselves from the NDP opposition) and again, later, this time joined by the Tories who made the record that these controls were not what they themselves had in mind when they campaigned and lost in the last federal election.

The wage freeze passed into law, while the CLC leadership opposed it in words that were stronger than ever, but while they failed to conduct anything but the merest token action against it.

When appearing before the House of Commons finance committee, CLC Executive Vice-president Shirley Carr declared that organized labor "is not prepared to accept Bill C73 — either in principle or in practice." The CLC brief declared that the government itself must take "a significant part of the blame for the domestic causes of inflation" and outlined an alternative program which among others demanded a massive housing program that would drive down rents, regulation of oil, gas and energy prices, etc.

QFL leader Louis Laberge scored the government's bill as "iniquitous, hateful and unjust because it dishonestly implies (in the face of government admission to the contrary) that the worker is responsible for inflation..." Carr threatened that "massive non-compliance, including strikes, may take place if the bill is not withdrawn."

Put words into action

In shameful contrast to these words, the promises of serious protest actions, particularly considering the response throughout Ontario CLC ranks, and the collective resources at their disposal, was the one shot operation organized almost surreptitiously by the Metro Toronto Labor Council leadership on November 19. A mere 4 or 5 buses of unionists were shipped off to Ottawa to confront the government and Toronto area MPs. The half million dollar CLC war chest has so far produced only a miserable ad that appeared in several dailies on the eve of the bill's passage promoting the fatuous slogan: "Wage Controls — Why Me?"

It is now obvious that without such a congress and the unity of organized labor around a democratically agreed upon fighting program the working people of this country are going to suffer a series of defeats.

If there was any doubt about the crucial significance of the bill to the working people of Canada this has been clarified by: the anti-inflation board's recent announcement that the controls will apply not only to Trudeau's original estimate of 1,500 companies but to some 7,500 companies; by employer after employer declaring the guidelines as the upper limit in their negotiations with union locals; and by the board's strikebreaking pronouncements against teachers.

The "anti-inflation" board itself demands that the teachers are strike guidelines, but to repudiate the last board as also being in violation, and would permit increases where "all... has been established" whereby Toronto secondary teachers have had wage parity with Toronto primary school teachers.

Claims that the longstanding collective bargaining process in Canada has now, by these regulations, been pronounced dead — are by no means an exaggeration.

An increasing number of companies are repudiating previous offers and presenting new ones drastically scaled downwards to their estimate of what the Ottawa board will declare as not violating the guidelines. This is becoming so widespread that federal Labor Minister John Munro himself has had to denounce the pulp and paper companies, struck more than five months ago, long before the imposition of the guidelines, with "just using the guidelines to hide behind."

The CLC national executive, the leadership of CUPE and the UAW who have denounced the wage freeze with exhortations that individual union locals should bargain as if the controls program does not exist, are burying their heads in the sand, and along with that the legitimate aspirations of their members confronted with the stark reality of the determination of Ottawa and their relative weakness.

Key sectors of organized labor have demonstrated their desire to resist the wage freeze. If this will have been moderated in any way, it is due to a failure of concrete leadership from the top central levels of the union movement. It is certain to be roused to new heights as the full implications of the freeze are brought home to wider layers of the working class, both organized and unorganized.

Certain sectors of the union movement are already thrust out into the

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forward

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

(14) Vol. 2, No. 2 Dec. 175/Jan. '76 Toronto 20 cents

Bosses rage at Sask potash take-over

By Gord Deutsch

The Saskatchewan government's move to take control of the highly profitable potash industry through a policy of at least 50% of the privately owned monopolies "will be the battle of the 1970s for democratic socialism in Saskatchewan and perhaps in Canada", according to NDP premier Allan Blakeney at the November NDP convention.

What is at stake government takeover of the potash industry in Canada this case ten po representing \$700 investment currentl

By Gord Deutsch

The Saskatchewan government's move to take control of the highly profitable potash industry through a policy of at least 50% of the privately owned monopolies "will be the battle of the 1970s for democratic socialism in Saskatchewan and perhaps in Canada", according to NDP premier Allan Blakeney at the November NDP provincial convention.

What is at stake is the largest government takeover of an industry in Canadian history, in this case ten potash mines representing \$700 million in investment currently valued at

more than one billion dollars and employing 4000 people. Some 500 delegates attending the convention expressed their overwhelming approval of the policy and accepted the challenge as did the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour.

Speakers at the convention, no doubt mindful of previous acts of economic sabotage directed against the Saskatchewan NDP government by the petroleum corporations, proposed extending nationalization to other resource areas. However, the party leadership rejected this with its characteristic reliance on a policy of promoting responsible corporate behaviour, and instead offered major tax incentives for oil and gas exploration and development.

Nevertheless, the big corporations that rule this country reacted in their characteristically savage way. Samuel Hughes, executive-director of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, announced shortly afterwards that 29 of 30 leading corporations surveyed had agreed that Saskatchewan's proposed takeover of the potash industry will negatively influence any future investment they would make in Saskatchewan or Canada. Among these companies were: Alcan Ltd., Massey-Ferguson Ltd., Gulf Oil Canada, CPRail and IBM.

As if by orchestration, all and sundry representatives of big business, both Canadian and foreign, raised a tumultuous chorus of condemnation of the Saskatchewan government.

J.L. Carpenter, president of the US-dominated Canadian Potash Producers Association, accused the government of an "arbitrary and unprecedented" act and bad faith with the potash companies (despite their court campaign against government taxes and investment freezes.)

The president of Central Canada Potash Ltd., a subsidiary of Noranda Mines, proclaimed



Quebec union leaders Pepin, Laberge and Charbonneau demonstrate against wage controls. They considered a general strike but feared isolation from labor movement in English Canada.

Morgentaler still in jail, gov't steps up abuse

By Jane Scott

On November 17, a 60 year old grocer was found guilty of performing an illegal abortion in his Montreal kitchen in 1973. Despite admissions to performing some 700-800 kitchen abortions over the past 20 years, he received a mere 18 month sentence, the very same sentence as that brought down on Dr. Henry Morgentaler by the same Quebec court system.

Dr Morgentaler, a licenced practitioner with one of the best equipped clinics of its kind in the country, a clinic especially designed to help women wishing to end unwanted pregnancies, has risked his career and freedom in a consistent public campaign against Canada's iniquitous abortion laws. It is for that "crime" alone that he is being persecuted.

Because the Quebec had frozen all assets during his Although Dr. president of the e of Physicians, he "highest form ward this doctor humiliated both d publicly. l stands to lose his ice medicine as a ne conviction. arish persecution background of rioration of those ully inadequate is now available to

Hospital Abortion ntly conducted by Repeal of he (DRAL) revealed third of the 258 n Canada are ipped to perform DRAL steering ember Dr May is really luck if a er running the f a capricious

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that although he didn't think nationalization of potash was supported by the public, nonetheless, he was prepared to sell out to the government because of the money the company was losing. But the **Globe and Mail** reported that a survey of major potash producers to determine which would be willing to sell out voluntarily to the Saskatchewan government yielded — strangely enough — no takers.

The federal Tories unanimously criticized the nationalization proposal. Tory leader Robert Stanfield and Liberal Finance Minister Donald MacDonald — in rare agreement — posed federal taxation of the provincially owned potash corporations even though they would not be subject to federal taxation under the terms of the British North America Act.

Even French big business got into the act when a Canadian trade mission to France was recently told that the provincial/federal taxation policies and nationalization of the Saskatchewan potash industry would cause France to feel negatively about investing in Saskatchewan and Canada.

The hue and cry by the big business spokesmen has no merit when considering the facts that led up to the Saskatchewan NDP's decision and the overly generous attitude displayed by the government to the corporations. While the government attempted to tax the corporations and direct the marketing of this vital resource in a situation in which Saskatchewan produces one quarter of the world's output for the fertilizer market and in which the market price went from \$20 per ton in 1969 to \$75 in 1975 (anticipated to go to \$100 by 1980), the corporations taxed the government's patience with court battles over division of the profits.

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Business giants howl at NDP's potash takeover

Continued from page 1

Yet in 1971 and 1972 these same corporations requested that the government implement market regulation — which they now defy — because of the depressed state of the industry.

After two years of defiance by the corporations who arrogate to themselves a power higher than that of a democratically elected government, the Saskatchewan NDP acted, not out of "doctrinaire" commitment to public ownership, Blakeney is careful to explain, but out of sheer necessity. Blakeney decided to "end the uncertainties and guarantee **effective** control through ownership."

The premier pointed out that nationalization would ensure expansion of production and subsequent increases in employment; regulate production in the interests of Saskatchewan; repatriate control of the industry, now dominated by the US-based imperialist corporations, to Saskatchewan including some 400 managerial and research positions; ensure a secure flow of revenue to the province; and cause no burden on the public purse because potash is a good long-term investment.

Maintaining the position of inducing corporate good faith, Blakeney's terms of nationalization are very generous to the corporations: in determining the compensation value of a company the government will include federally taxed profits as part of the total value; where the government and company don't agree on terms of purchase, they can go to an impartial arbitration panel, whose decision is subject to court appeal by either party; at least 30% of the



A view of a giant US-owned potash mine in Saskatchewan.

price for any mine would be paid in cash; the government must pay the company within 90 days after the negotiated sale or arbitration ruling; and secured creditors of the potash mines would receive the same treatment as the companies when being compensated.

Despite Blakeney's belief in good faith bargaining with the monopolies, the potash companies' sorry record of cooperation in the past (like their withholding \$200 million in scheduled investment to force the government to back down in its taxation policy) has led him to take some precautions.

For example, the government has the power to enter the property of the potash companies and examine all financial records. The potash companies have repeatedly refused to reveal actual financial figures, only general industry-wide averages, despite the pleas of the Saskatchewan government.

In view of all this, the government has given itself the power, if all else fails, to expropriate if an agreement to purchase cannot be worked out with the company.

The Saskatchewan labor government has shown the way by its forthright stance against the corporate blackmailers through its nationalization policy. But its patience and generosity with the corporations are undeserved. All the potash industry should be expropriated forthwith and placed under workers' control to guard against corporate sabotage and ensure planning in the interest of the people of Saskatchewan. Furthermore, the NDP government should take its cue from the provincial convention and stop wishing for corporate responsibility. The attempt to use incentives to induce "good corporate citizenship" in these primarily US-based resource robber barons is wasted. Their only responsibility is to their profits.

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The grisly tale of Morgentaler's persecution seems to go on without end. While the speaker of the federal house rules NDP MP Stu Leggat's private member's bill to grant Morgentaler parole out of order, Montreal authorities move to sell off his house and property for non-payment of taxes — taxes not paid because the Quebec government had frozen all Morgentaler's assets during his imprisonment. Although Dr. Augustin Roy, president of the Quebec College of Physicians, recommended the "highest form of clemency toward this doctor who has been humiliated both morally and publicly," Morgentaler still stands to lose his licence to practice medicine as a result of the same conviction.

The nightmarish persecution proceeds in a background of continuing deterioration of those already woefully inadequate abortion services now available to women.

A survey of Hospital Abortion Committees recently conducted by Doctors for Repeal of the Abortion Laws (DRAL) revealed that only one third of the 258 hospitals in Canada are technically equipped to perform abortions. DRAL steering committee member Dr. May Cohen said: "It is really luck if a woman gets permission for an abortion after running the roadblock of a capricious committee..."

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Gov't stall on abortion

Continued from page 1

In the face of this continuing repression the federal government continues to overwhelm us with its generosity and liberality. Attorney General Ron Basford (whose private views are said to be "liberal") has budgeted $\frac{3}{4}$ of a million dollars to duplicate DRAL's work. He has set up a committee to study "whether the procedure provided in the criminal code for obtaining therapeutic abortions is operating equitably across Canada."

However, even this miserable palliative can be another focus for pro-choice activists if we go down to the committee's offices at 4 King St Toronto and make ourselves heard.

In other activities, Toronto CARAL members moved to back up Dr Peter Cole's nomination to the city government for a position as head of the birth control education campaign for the area. The "right to life" turned up and in their own inimitable way tried to smear Dr Cole before the council by associating him with DRAL and a birth control mobile information unit (an association which only served to recommend him for the post). This small confrontation only serves to demonstrate once more that the compulsory pregnancy typesee, in

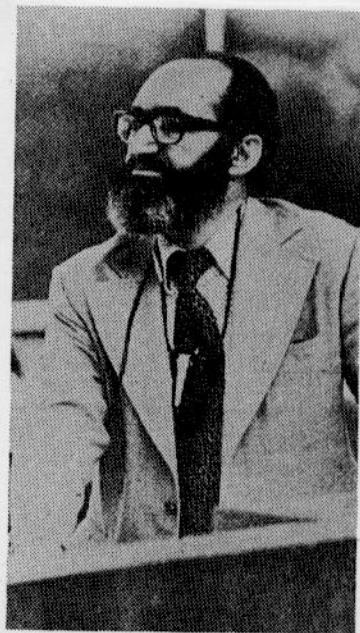
their own dim way, the connection between women's liberation and the right to control our bodies.

It's unfortunate that so few active feminists see the connection half as well. Many of them have abstained from Morgentaler's defence because he is a man. As ridiculous as this argument is, it is utterly destroyed by the total lack of response to the case of Nurse Cornax. Cornax is charged with "complicity" in the same case that put Dr Morgentaler in prison. She was to come before the court last month but the wire services and media said nothing.

Where is she? What's happened to her? Here is a woman, a sister, under the vicious persecution of the same law that helps to sacrifice the humanity of all women to their bodies. Not only feminists, but all of us, who are pro-choice must come to her aid and finally stay the cold implacable hands of our "liberal" government.

The organized forces of the pro-choice movement remain centred in CARAL. Since it began to launch public activities last spring at the time of Morgentaler's imprisonment, it has grown steadily and established many new

chapters across the country. But its forces still remain inadequate to the task. The Right to Life is



Dr. Henry Morgentaler, martyr for women's right.

highly organized with vast resources to back them up. We cannot hope to match their finances but we are based on a majority sentiment and we can build a broadly based, equally organized movement.

Campaign opens for public owned energy

By Gord Deutsch

The newest organization to join in the growing campaign to wrest domination of Canada's economy from the imperialist multinational monopolies is the Public Petroleum Association of Canada. The PPAC describes itself as "a non-partisan organization whose purpose is to advocate a national petroleum policy that serves the interests of Canada."

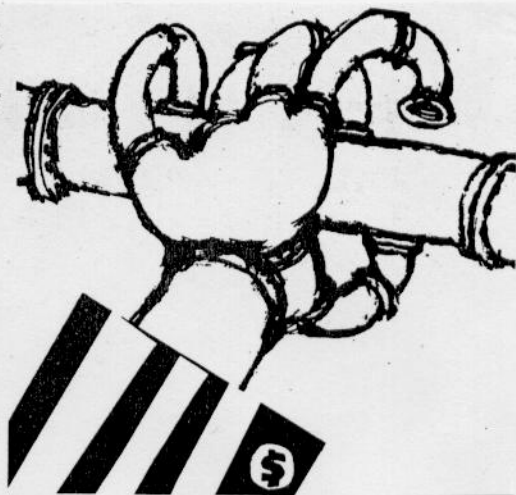
To achieve its goal it has proclaimed a multi-faceted campaign to promote: a public commission of inquiry into corporate lies about producibility estimates; nationalization of gas and oil and establishing "government marketing boards through which crude oil and natural gas would be sold"; a policy of petroleum self-sufficiency "as an element in a national industrial strategy geared to promoting greater indigenous manufacturing based on the nation's resources"; "a serious commitment to safeguarding the environment and ending energy waste"; and recognition of the rights of the native peoples of Canada in regard to resource development and exploration.

On Nov. 28-29, the PPAC held its first public conference — "Multi-national Companies and Canadian Oil" — in Toronto. On the first night, some 500 people gave a standing ovation to NDP energy critic Tommy Douglas who spoke on the need to nationalize Imperial Oil and the importance of the PPAC in building a united campaign to achieve its goals regardless of

political differences. Sharing the platform was Alberta publisher and former head of the Committee for an Independent Canada, Mel Hurtig who outlined the ruthless ways in which the oil corporations enrich themselves at the expense of the Canadian people. Hurtig ended up with a pointed recognition of the work of ex-Waffle leader James Laxer, a driving force in the setting-up of PPAC and the conference.

The discussions on the following day were addressed by such speakers as: Bruce F. Willson, former president of Union Gas Ltd. and of Canadian Bechtel Ltd., who advocated nationalizing the US-dominated petroleum corporations whose only operating criterion is profit; Ian McDougall, professor or Resource Law at Dalhousie University, who exposed the role of the National Energy Board in promoting the interests of the oil corporations in government policy; a number of other professors in law, geology and economics; Ken Langdon representing the Petroleum Retailers Association which is asking the government to intervene to save franchisers from being driven out of business by the supplier oil monopolies; Sam Gindin, Research Director, United Auto Workers.

Counted among the list of PPAC sponsors are: authors Margaret Atwood, George Grant, Farley Mowat and Heather Robertson; political personalities James Eayrs, Pauline Jewett, James Lorimer, Walter Pitman, Charles Taylor, and Mel Watkins; athletes Abby Hoffman and Bruce Kidd; art dealer Av...



Isaacs; Robert Page and Dave Treleven of the CIC; and others.

Despite the diversity of supporters, the consistent themes of conducting a single-issue campaign to nationalize the petroleum industry was supported over and over by the bulk of the 300 or so participants of the sessions.

The PPAC marks a milestone in the organizing of the mass sentiment to nationalize the great economic resources of this country for the benefit of the working people. Such a campaign organization deserves the support and active involvement of the NDP and the rest of the labour movement.

Bosses cheer as BC NDP is ousted

By Wayne Roberts

The Vancouver stock market soared, with 3.8 million shares changing hands at greatly increased prices, as Canada's corporate giants celebrated a major victory. The NDP government of three and a half years had just been defeated.

Executive glasses continued to clink toasts as the new Premier Bennett pledged to repeal the province's Mineral Royalties Act, sell crown-owned land for "development", open the nationalized auto-insurance industry to the private sector and dump the province's share in

major private companies like BC Tel. The lineup of those making statements of exultation over the return of a "free enterprise", business oriented government which can restore confidence and "get BC moving again" (as the Socred jingle went), reads like a list of Canada's blue chip coupon clippers.

The victory of the motley crew under Socred's banner was the result of a phenomenal polarization of voting along class lines. With the whole business community on emergency alert and full mobilization, and former Liberals and Conservatives tripping over each others mouths to form a united party of big business, Social Credit was able to amalgamate 49% of the popular vote.

Although the defeat was a significant setback for labor and the NDP, not only in BC but across the country, the self-congratulations of Social Credit will not stand. "The voters put their fingers on the hot stove of socialism in 1972 and tonight they have taken it away," old Wacky Bennett enthused. More restrained commentators have argued that the electorate rejected the pace of reform of the energetic Barrett government.

These explanations fail to take into account that the NDP more than held its 1972 percentage of the popular vote in the heavy voting of this election. The NDP's 1972 electoral breakthrough, garnered in the context of a multi-party split as voters fled Socred rule in every direction, was consolidated as a firm NDP vote.

Despite any inadequacies of the NDP record in office, the working class did not seek to express any dissatisfaction outside the NDP. The tiny vote for Communist Party candidates, the "high" point of 36 votes for the "best" received

of the Revolutionary Marxist Group candidates and some 40 votes for the League For Socialist Action illustrate that with condemning and humiliating finality.

Whatever the shortcomings of the NDP campaign, one reason alone explains the NDP loss — the ganging up of big business in a concerted campaign against the NDP and the consequent vanishing of any middle position, and polarization of all elements hostile to the NDP toward the Socreds.

The election merely gave this longstanding trend sharp political expression. The media was continually filled with strident pronouncements from the bottomless coffers of Social Credit and business organizations against the NDP.

Spreading fear of economic reprisals as freely as smears against "welfare bums" and labor militants, they succeeded in intimidating the population from increasing the NDP vote. In that context, the NDP was unable to extend their 1972 margins and crystallize the unease in the population over the NDP's sometimes eclectic but invariably confrontation-provoking policies against resistance-pledged big business. Rather, a significant portion of the population was perhaps filled with anxiety and uncertainty, lacking confidence that the NDP or perhaps any social or political force provides an answer.

As the gang of Bennett cowboy capitalists, car dealers and assorted gentile darlings of the established rich move to establish their government and implement their policies, New Democrats and all working people will go through an experience that will lay the groundwork for a future testing of class forces in more favorable situations.

"Constitutional" coup d'etat ousted Australian Labor Party from government

By Alex Roy

FLASH — December 14, 1975

As we go to press it has been reported that the Labor Party suffered a major defeat in the December 13 elections.

In recent weeks the Australian working class has been severely jolted by what its former Prime Minister has called "a coup d'etat" against the Labor government. Democratic norms have been violated in a manner unprecedented in the country's history. These events have sparked massive protests by Australian workers and have raised class tensions to a tremendous height.

Here is the bizarre sequence of events. The Labour government's budget was rejected by the Senate for the first time in history. This thwarting by a small group of plutocrats of a bill passed by the elected representatives of the people, was disturbing enough and raised serious constitutional questions.

But the matter did not end there. On November 11, the governor general, Sir John Kerr — a representative of the English Queen — dismissed the lawfully elected government, turning the country over to a 'caretaker' coalition of the right-wing parties.

US concerns are apparently enmeshed in the affair. Whitlam has accused the leader of the right-

wing National Country party (part of the 'caretaker' coalition) of accepting funds from a CIA agent; the respected Australian journal **Financial Review** affirms that "the man, Richard Lee Stallings, was actually a CIA employee who used his friendship with senior Australian leaders to spy for US interests." (The New York Times, November 6.) Stallings was reportedly "ingratiating himself...into the senior echelons of Australian business..."

The pro-labor economic policies of the government — which included legislating a cost-of-living allowance, free university education, free medicare, freedom of choice on abortion, pension hikes, price controls and measures to buy back some foreign-owned industries and resources, no doubt infuriated the corporate interests enough to drive them to these crude actions (which the foremost legal

authorities had reportedly warned Kerr were unconstitutional). Immediately after the ouster of Labor, the stock market jumped upward as the big corporations and financiers celebrated the return to power of their trusted henchmen.

But their glee was short-lived. Shocked and outraged by what Whitlam called "the greatest act of violence in our history...upon a parliamentary democracy", workers took to the streets in vigorous protest. Huge rallies were held in city after city. In Canberra, Perth, Darwin, Melbourne and Brisbane, demonstrations of thousands demanded the return of the Labor government. Calls for a general strike came from a procession 6,000 strong in Sydney, where strikes spread like wildfire through the docks, shipping and construction, and 30,000 gathered to hear Whitlam denounce the astonishing maneuver. Four hundred and fifty journalists walked out of the offices of international press baron Rupert Murdoch to protest the anti-Labor editorial policies of his newspaper chain. The government's own chauffeurs went on strike; the 'caretakers' had to take cabs to the opening of Parliament

and were obliged to sneak in through a side door as the building resounded with the chants of a pro-Labor rally at the main entrance.

The right-wing forces were hoping, with their strident anti-socialist demagoguery, to cash in on working class discontent over the high inflation and unemployment — products of the world capitalist economic crisis. 'Caretaker' PM Malcolm Fraser's shrill attack upon the Labor government as "the worst, most incompetent and damaging in our entire history" sounds remarkably similar to the anti-NDP hysteria of BC's Socreds.

What the right failed to understand was that the workers recognize the Labor Party as their own and are willing to defend it tooth and nail against chicanery by their class enemies. The lesson that the right has taught the workers, in turn, is that, especially in times of economic crisis, the forces of Big Business — even in the most democratic of countries — will be quite willing to violate their own constitutions to keep Labor out of office.

The reinstatement of the Labor government has clearly become the most urgent responsibility of the working class in Australia. In Whitlam's words, "These burglars masquerading as caretakers must be thrown out of the Cabinet room, bag and baggage." But the matter cannot be laid to rest there.

Sir John A. MacDonald wrote that a Senate is necessary in a capitalist democracy in order that the rights of minorities might be protected; the rich, he explained, are always in the minority. It is incumbent upon the labor movement to remove the last blemish — of monarchical or plutocratic privilege from government. To fail to do so would be to invite the thwarting of democratic rule by the tiny cliques of millionaires who control the Senates, Houses of Lords, etc. In the not too distant future, when the working people of Canada shall have elected a government of labor in Ottawa, no legal channel should be left open to overthrow it by a right-wing power grab on the Australian model.

By Ellie Kirzner

Balance sheet at end of IWY

Where are women at now?



Thousands demand amnesty for Henry Morgenthaler on May 10th March, a milestone in the development of the women's movement.

As International Women's Year limps to an end, it is time to assess if anything permanent will remain with us next year when we return to another international non-women's year. What evidently won't be remembered is what the federal government did to solve the enormous problems of women — mainly because it did almost nothing at all. There was that 5 million dollars of course — a far cry from the mighty US's paltry \$360,000 donation to IWY. But as everyone realizes by now, the Canadian government got away cheap. Ad campaigns and grants are bargains compared to the gigantic task of re-ordering society so that every woman gets to choose how her life will be run.

The government won't be remembered with satisfaction for its brilliant contribution to women's liberation theory — "it's all in your head, honey". Treating it as International Attitudes Year, they made a dashing attempt to capture the mounting women's discontent by re-defining the historic problem of women's oppression as a question of attitudes and perspective. Wanting desperately to seize the mantle of feminist leadership, the government hoped to drain the women's rebellion of its anti-government sentiments. Women's liberation, they hoped, could be rendered genteel, respectable, and benign through government initiative.

Unfortunately for the government, many women came to realize that attitudes were airy-fairy things and that what they lacked was hard-core legislative changes. These the government did not distribute as graciously as good attitudes. In fact all it really did was to select the more peripheral proposals of the Royal Commission report and serve them up as major change. At the same time that it was continuing to dispense homilies on the subject of the fair treatment of women, the government was presiding over the actual deterioration of women's conditions.

The present economic crisis has fallen harshly upon the working woman, making her job status more uncertain and eroding the buying power of her already lower wages. As the **Financial Post** pointed out in a series of articles, the position of women in the work-place is in all respects worsening. The government, in response to this, has not lifted a finger either in terms of enforcing equal pay laws or developing a mechanism for equal work opportunity. While 600,000 children are still without adequate childcare, cutbacks in social services are threatening those slim few centres that do exist. As well, the government in this our year, has committed an unspeakable

crime against women in refusing to end the persecution of Dr. Morgenthaler and in attempting ever more severely to limit abortion facilities. With all this, it is not surprising that women have suffered a widespread disaffection with the counterfeit celebration. Not one major women's activist or writer could bring herself to identify with the accomplishments of the government.

What will really be remembered out of this year is the flurry of conferences, meetings and festivals which were created by the energies of locally organized women. While the federal and provincial governments were playing sugar daddy with project grants, the tribute for the success of women's activity goes entirely to those activists who poured their talents and energies into attracting new women to the ideas of women's liberation. The range of activities in Canada this year was breathtaking — from the Nellie McClung Festival in Guelph, the Women and the Arts Festival in Toronto, Women and the Law Conferences in Ottawa and Winnipeg, to the conference for Native and northern women in Yellowknife, the McMaster Women's Day in Hamilton, and the May 10th March in Toronto. Here for the first time many women stepped out of their isolation, and under the cover of the respectability of the government's programme, made their initial contact with feminism.

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Indicative of the new confidence of women who are breaking into male-dominated professions is Ms. Carolyn Craford, 24, tractor driver, first woman director of the Kent Federation of Agriculture.

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Perhaps most illustrative of this new process were two important events which can be seen as a mere taste of what is to come. One was the 500 strong Housewives Speak Out conference in Toronto where women came together to discuss everything from how to get children to clean their rooms, to the desperate need for childcare, the lack of social recognition for child-raising, the frustrations of entering the paid workforce. The other was the Women's Trade Union Conference also in Toronto, which set up a permanent committee to design a conference for January and which is setting the basis for the first women's trade union organization in the country. In these two gatherings, one can see the future of the women's movement — the immense power and social leverage it can wield, the all-encompassing, sweeping nature of its concerns. What this new motion signals is that feminism is no longer merely the domain of the professional woman, the student, the socialist; it is more and more taking root in the masses of women.

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is also clear that the women's movement itself was not capable of creating a leadership in its own image. For despite the powerful contagion of restlessness, no central and coordinated mass organization of women has been created. There are of course **leaders**. Women like Laura Sabia have become spokespeople for the rising feeling, ever ready to be captured by the media. There is however, no **leadership**, no country-wide organizational focus, no coordinated inspiration. No layer has emerged of women activists who have concerned themselves with the building of structures able to incorporate the new strata of women. This after all is the most pressing issue — how to activate the talents and energies of all kinds of women, at all levels of political development. The May 10th March in Toronto demonstrated the possibilities of a coalition of groups and individuals, but despite the breadth of the sponsorship in this demonstration, no permanent organizing body, no stable leadership was able to be constructed out of it. Many did not appreciate that the problem far transcended the success of one demonstration.

One ever-present difficulty in this situation is the perspective of many of those women's liberationists who date their radicalization from the 1968 era. Hundreds of these women with their experience and talents have turned their energies solely to research, or social service work, or have given up any sense that a women's movement can be constructed. Some of them it seems, are nostalgic for the days when women's liberation was the prerogative of tiny circles of left women, and yearn to recreate them. Not comfortable with the reality of feminism as a mass sentiment, with its inevitable ambiguities and contradictions as new women come to understand and interpret it in their own way, they have sought or created enclaves in which to isolate themselves. This phenomena is excruciatingly evident in the Dr. Morgentaler affair, to which none of that early layer of feminist activists have ever lent their talents.

One glance at the suffrage movement should make it clear

that while the loose, multi-centered and multi-mediaed women's milieu that now exists may expand the consciousness of women, it is not a weapon with which to confront the governments and employers of this country. The suffragettes won because they knew how to organize, how to press every advantage, how to size up their enemy and remain on the offensive. They knew what it was to embrace women of differing political perspectives and how to transform aspirations into political might. Why should we assume that the liberation of women will take any less?

Even the most minimal of achievements — winning the liberty of a doctor who has helped distressed women — has proved too difficult for the Canadian women's movement. Only a cross-country coalition of women with differing concerns, united with a political perspective and a dedication to use every means at its disposal, from petitions to mass demonstrations, will return to the women's movement the power that the suffragettes were able to wield.

The government's Royal Commission on the Status of Women was, in the long tradition of other Commissions, a brilliant calculation. Like the Royal Commission on Labour in the 1880's, which detailed the oppressive conditions of Canada's working people, the Women's commission bristles with the indignity of women's secondary status. From all the recommendations of the 1880's Commission, only the designation of Labor day was ever implemented; in the same way the government's natural inclination is to ignore the essence of what the Status of Women Report demanded. But all the rhetoric in the world cannot erase one word of what the commissioners saw when they entered women's lives in 1967, and what the statistics of 1975 reveal. Just as the modern labour movement was built in spite of Government attempts to ditch the 1888 Report, so too, it is highly possible that a new women's leadership will be forged from those women who received their first turn-on at an IWY festivity. What the government cherished the hope of avoiding, will inevitably come to haunt it.

Where are women at now?

Balance sheet at end of IWY (International Women's Year)

By Ellie Kirzner

(from Forward, December 1975)

As International Women's Year limps to an end, it is time to assess if anything permanent will remain with us next year when we return to another international non-women's year. What evidently won't be remembered is what the federal government did to solve the enormous problems of women — mainly because it did almost nothing at all. There was that \$5 million of course — a far cry from the mighty US's paltry \$360,000 donation to IWY. But as everyone realizes by now, the Canadian government got away cheap. Ad campaigns and grants are bargains compared to the gigantic task of re-ordering society so that every woman gets to choose how her life will be run.

The government won't be remembered with satisfaction for its brilliant contribution to women's liberation theory — "it's all in your head, honey". Treating it as International Attitudes Year, they made a dashing attempt to capture the mounting women's discontent by re-defining the historic problem of women's oppression as a question of attitudes and perspective. Wanting desperately to seize the mantle of feminist leadership, the government hoped to drain the women's rebellion of its anti- government sentiments. Women's liberation, they hoped, could be rendered genteel, respectable, and benign through government initiative.

Unfortunately for the government, many women came to realize that attitudes were airy-fairy things and that what they lacked was hard-core legislative changes. These the government did not distribute as graciously as good attitudes. In fact all it really did was to select the more peripheral proposals of the Royal Commission report and serve them up as major change. At the same time that it was continuing to dispense homilies on the subject of the fair treatment of women, the government was presiding over the actual deterioration of women's conditions.

The present economic crisis has fallen harshly upon the working woman, making her job status more uncertain and eroding the buying power of her already lower wages. As the *Financial Post* pointed out in a series of articles, the position of women in the workplace is in all respects worsening. The government, in response to this, has not lifted a finger either in terms of enforcing equal pay laws or developing a mechanism for equal work opportunity. While 600,000 children are still without adequate childcare, cutbacks in social services are threatening those slim few centres that do exist. As well, the government in this our Year, has committed an unspeakable crime against women in refusing to end the persecution of Dr. Morgentaler and in attempting ever more severely to limit abortion facilities. With all this, it is not surprising that women have suffered a widespread disaffection with the counterfeit celebration. Not one major women's activist or writer could bring herself to identify with the accomplishments of the government.

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and festivals which were created by the energies of locally organized women. While the federal and provincial governments were playing sugar daddy with project grants, the tribute for the success of women's activity goes entirely to those activists who poured their talents and energies into attracting new women to the ideas of women's liberation. The range of activities in Canada this year was breathtaking — from the Nellie McClung Festival in Guelph, the Women and the Arts Festival in Toronto, Women and the Law Conferences in Ottawa and Winnipeg, to the conference for Native and northern women in Yellowknife, the McMaster Women's Day in Hamilton, and the May 10th March in Toronto. Here for the first time many women stepped out of their isolation, and under the cover of the respectability of the government's programme, made their initial contact with feminism.

As well, the great wave of women's discontent washed up against the NDP and resulted in the magnificent success of the Rosemary Brown campaign for leadership, galvanizing the Party and setting the basis for the re-energizing of the left. Brown's powerful showing, 41% of the Party vote, catapulted into national politics an articulate and sophisticated spokesperson for the issues of feminism.

Perhaps most illustrative of this new process were two important events which can be seen as a mere taste of what is to come. One was the 500-strong Housewives Speak Out conference in Toronto where women came together to discuss everything from how to get children to clean their rooms, to the desperate need for childcare, the lack of social recognition for child-raising, the frustrations of entering the paid workforce. The other was the Women's Trade Union Conference also in Toronto, which set up a permanent committee to design a conference for January and which is setting the basis for the first women's trade union organization in the country. In these two gatherings, one can see the future of the women's movement — the immense power and social leverage it can wield, the all-encompassing, sweeping nature of its concerns. What this new motion signals is that feminism is no longer merely the domain of the professional woman, the student, the socialist; it is more and more taking root in the masses of women.

And so while the government meant to appease, it only enflamed. It will no doubt live to regret the year that it gave out grants for women to find out that what plagued them were social issues and not personal problems.

But if the government was not able to become the spokesman for the general surge of discontent, it is also clear that the women's movement itself was not capable of creating a leadership in its own image. For despite the powerful contagion of restlessness, no central and coordinated mass organization of women has been created. There are of course **leaders**. Women like Laura Sabia have become spokespeople for the rising feeling, ever ready to be captured by the media. There is however, no **leadership**, no country-wide organizational focus, no coordinated inspiration. No layer has emerged of women activists who have concerned themselves with the building of structures able to incorporate the new strata of women. This after all is the most pressing issue — how to activate the talents and energies of all kinds of women, at all levels of political development. The May 10th March in Toronto demonstrated the possibilities of a

coalition of groups and individuals, but despite the breadth of the sponsorship in this demonstration, no permanent organizing body, no stable leadership was able to be constructed out of it. Many did not appreciate that the problem far transcended the success of one demonstration.

One ever-present difficulty in this situation is the perspective of many of those women's liberationists who date their radicalization from the 1968 era. Hundreds of these women with their experience and talents have turned their energies solely to research, or social service work, or have given up any sense that a women's movement can be constructed. Some of them it seems, are nostalgic for the days when women's liberation was the prerogative of tiny circles of left women, and yearn to recreate them. Not comfortable with the reality of feminism as a mass sentiment, with its inevitable ambiguities and contradictions as new women come to understand and interpret it in their own way, they have sought or created enclaves in which to isolate themselves. This phenomena is excruciatingly evident in the Dr. Morgentaler affair, to which none of that early layer of feminist activists have ever lent their talents.

One glance at the suffrage movement should make it clear that while the loose, multi-centered and multi-mediaed women's milieu that now exists may expand the consciousness of women, it is not a weapon with which to confront the governments and employers of this country. The suffragettes won because they knew how to organize, how to press every advantage, how to size up their enemy and remain on the offensive. They knew what it was to embrace women of differing political perspectives and how to transform aspirations into political might. Why should we assume that the liberation of women will take any less?

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Student president interviewed:

Student movement poses cutback fight

by Mackenzie West

For readers of Macleans, Saturday Night, and publications of their ilk, the student movement ostensibly disappeared with the advent of the seventies. The story they recite is that suddenly, discovering the necessity of getting a job, students forgot about social change, forgot about politics, and began worrying about marks. The student activist became a dead animal.

Last year, York University threw a monkey wrench into that analysis. A group of students calling itself the United Left Coalition (ULC) campaigned in the student council elections and won.

Running on a program that pledged to, among other things, fight the cutbacks in education, fight for a democratic university, fight for open university education to all classes, and not just the middle and upper ones — the ULC swept the elections, winning nearly every position on the student council, including that of president.

To keep its readers up to date on this important and promising development in the "return" of the student movement, **Forward** interviewed Dale Ritch, president of the Council of York Student Federation, and member of the ULC.

For reasons of space, portions of this article have had to be cut.

FORWARD: What is the United Left Coalition, and how does it function?

RITCH: The ULC began four years ago as the United Left Slate (ULS). Originally, its main activity was fielding candidates in student council elections.

Last year, we built a base from students involved in the Black Peoples' Movement, the Ukrainian Students' Association, the Hellenic Students' Association, the women's movement, the N.D.P. of course, and the campus media. From this base we fielded 19 candidates, electing 11, including myself as president, with three more being acclaimed.

As a result of the victory, the ULS became an on-going organization, concerning itself with all the problems of students, and not simply forming to run in elections.

Consequently, as you know, we've changed our name to the United Left Coalition (ULC). This more accurately describes our nature, a broad coalition of leftists who work together on a common

political program.

FORWARD: Could you outline the ULC program?

RITCH: Our programme focuses on issues of concern to students. We put as priorities the issues of cutbacks in the financing of post-secondary education, threatened tuition increases, and the lack of accessibility of post-secondary education...

As well, we emphasize the demands of the women's movement: Equal pay for work of equal value, Freedom of choice on abortion, Amnesty for Dr. Morgentaler, etc. The ULC actively participated in the May 10 Women's Rights March, and the recent rally for Dr. Morgentaler.

We take a position on the racist nature of the Canadian University and society in general, emphasizing Canada's reactionary immigration laws. The ULC is actively campaigning to prevent the deportation of Rosie Douglas, as well as several York students threatened with banishment from Canada.

Two central demands are for student-staff-faculty control of the university, and abolition of the Board of Governors. The board represents the interests of big business, and we want big business of the campus...

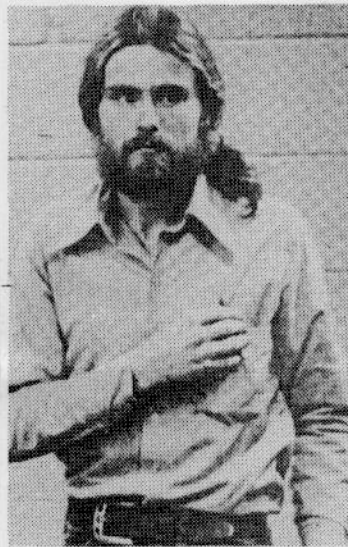
FORWARD: Could you give us an example of how the ULC is implementing its program?

RITCH: Well, so far this year, our biggest campaign has been around the food situation on campus. Over the summer, the administration changed caterers, ostensibly in an effort to improve food services.

What happened, however, was quite the opposite. Most of last year's food workers lost their jobs, the union was busted, and wages went down.

On top of this, the administration removed all checks on food prices, and they shot up incredibly, to the tune of 30% overnight. This is only natural, seeing that the catering companies are merely out to make a buck and the administration has a stated policy of turning a profit from food services, at the expense of the student body.

To fight this abuse of worker-student rights, the student council, with the support of the union, organized a campaign that centred around three demands. First of all, that the administration take over and operate the cafeterias without commercial caterers and without making a profit, and further, that a



Dale Ritch, President 75/76, CYSF.

democratically elected board of students, staff and faculty, be set up to oversee the administration and keep them honest. Secondly, that all the workers who were fired over the summer be offered re-employment with all their contract and union benefits, and that all food workers on campus be allowed to organize. These two are the most important demands.

In a campaign organized around these types of demands, we are able to raise in a concrete way, the issue of student-staff-faculty control of the university; we are able to demonstrate in action the common interests of students and workers; and we are also able to show that the student movement can succeed.

FORWARD: So your campaign was successful?

RITCH: Partially; so far, we've forced the administration to accept one of our demands. On Oct. 8 and 9 we organized a boycott of the largest cafeteria on campus, and cut its business by 80%. On the second day, the caterers announced that they would not obstruct unionization of their employees.

I think the future path is to take common positions on issues we have common interests in and use these experiences to construct some common front organization. We have already met once as a common front, and intend to continue meeting as issues arise...

FORWARD: I understand the campus organizations worked together during the election campaign. What was the position of the student council during the election?

RITCH: We voted to endorse the

campaign of the N.D.P. on the basis of their education program. To this end, we canvassed, posterized and leafleted the campus and worked closely with various riding associations. Over 70% of resident students on campus voted for the N.D.P.

FORWARD: Did any other campuses participate in your campaign?

RITCH: We had the support of several campuses, but unfortunately, not that of the Ontario Federation of Students. They voted to conduct a non-partisan, educational campaign, which in my opinion, was pretty useless. However, things are changing rapidly at O.F.S., and next election might be a different story.

FORWARD: What do you see for the future?

RITCH: There is a continuing radicalization occurring on the campuses because of the increasing cutback's policy and the relationship of big business to the educational system. This gives a boost to the formation of organizations similar to the U.L.C. on other campuses, and broadens the base of activists everywhere who are trying to deal with the problems that face students in this period. This is reflected in the increasing importance of all student organizations, be they on-campus unions, or regional, provincial and national organizations.

The student movement is beginning to take an organizational shape, and a new leadership is emerging. But this process had better pick up speed, because the problems facing students at Canadian universities are not going away. Indeed, all signs point to their increasing in number and intensity — maybe sooner than you think.

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Ont gov't social service cutbacks hike fees

With the tabling of the "Henderson Report" several weeks ago in the legislature, the provincial Tory government has launched a further assault on the already eroded principle that all people in society should have an equal chance to obtain a post-secondary education.

Besides urging massive cutbacks in hospital spending and in the size of the civil service workforce, the report outlined a program of massive cuts in the budget allocated to finance the province's community colleges and universities.

The basic idea is to make student pay much more of the actual operating costs of the institutions. The report recommends a 65% increase in tuition fees within three years so that fees would reach \$985 in universities and \$200-400 in the colleges.

At the same time the report suggests that the loan (Ontario Student Aid Program) ceiling be raised to \$1800 from \$800. With the intention of entirely phasing out the grant portion of OSAP within three years and replacing OSAP with an all-loan contingency repayment scheme (whereby the debts incurred by students would be automatically deducted from

their wages after graduation).

It is very likely that some of these proposals will be implemented this year because provincial treasurer Darcy McKeough personally sat on the Henderson Committee and because both the provincial and federal governments have committed themselves many times in the past to such a policy.

By abolishing grants and increasing tuition to such levels, working class youth will be effectively barred from post-secondary institutions. Students will be forced to go into debt of \$8,000-12,000.

Student governments across the province have recognized the anti-working class, anti-student nature of the report and have been quick to respond to these measures which make post-secondary institutions the exclusive preserve of the rich.

A rally is being planned for January 21 in Toronto and mass meetings are being organized in campuses across the province.

Further efforts must be made to unify student faculty staff support on the campus and to gain support from trade unions and other working class organizations.

Toronto Socialist League holds annual conference

By G. Donnelly

The Socialist League held its second annual conference on November 27.

The some 30 participants noted the steady, though modest, growth of the organization from a small discussion group to an active political organization with its own publications, stable finances, and above all developed political positions. The SL's activities range from participation in the NDP and the Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws to active trade union work and leadership in the student movement.

Having emerged as a core from the League for Socialist Action in early 1974, the Socialist League began by reaffirming the long-held Trotskyist position on the labor party in Canada and the well proven orientation to the radical Canadian nationalist sentiment that have continued to permeate the Canadian political scene. The conference confirmed once again the centrality of the NDP as the vehicle of independent political action by the labor movement as it continues to gain strength electorally and through the development of new left forces who express a deep-rooted conviction

for fundamental social change.

The conference marked significant strides in the composition of its newly elected leadership who for the most part are new young activists from the women's, students' and the trade union movement. Stu Sinclair, himself an experienced unionist, was elected staff organizer. While the Socialist League is presently Toronto-centred, it has ongoing relations with political co-thinkers in Vancouver and other locations. The perspective is to establish a pan-Canadian socialist movement based on a principled Marxist program with a mass orientation to the political experiences of the Canadian working class.

The Socialist League maintains an internationalist outlook in recognition of the need for a workers' party organized on a world scale which would be capable of leading the struggle for socialism, but recognizes that no adequate organization of this type exists at this time.

The period ahead will be a testing period to sensitively establish a Marxist program and outlook among the politically conscious elements of the Canadian working class.

the Socialist League announces its

New Year's Eve Party

to be held at
LITHUANIAN HALL
160 Claremont St.

(south off Dundas, west of Bathurst)

Dancing • Bar

Gourmet Delights

Admission \$5.00

(Students, unemployed, \$3.00)

NOTHING WITHOUT LABOUR

THE PERFECT GIFT

- ☐ Morgentaler: The doctor who couldn't turn away
Pelrine \$9.95
- ☐ Prison of Grass:
Adams \$12.95
- ☐ Inflation or Depression: An analysis of the continuing crisis of the Canadian economy
Gonick \$7.95
- ☐ The Canadian Corporate Elite
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